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No. XVII.

HISTORY OF THE PARAMĀRA DYNASTY

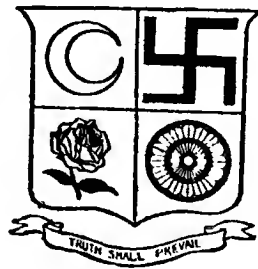
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To the sacred memory of my father

Mahim Chandra Ganguly.

INTRODUCTION.

After the downfall of the imperial power of the Guptas in the latter part of the 5th century A. D., Northern India was split up into a number of independent states. The Maitrakas of Valabhi rose to importance and ruled eastern Saurāṣṭra until the middle of the 8th century A. D.¹ A branch of the Cālukya dynasty held sway over Gujarat for some time (A. D. 634-740).² Yaśodharman (532 A. D.), a military adventurer, established, for a short period, his authority in the eastern Rajputana. A branch of the Guptas asserted supremacy over Mālava (C. 500—590 A. D.).³ In the latter part of the 6th C. Mālava was wrested from it by the Kāṭaccuries.⁴ The Maukharies held sway over an extensive territory from Kanauj to Bengal.⁵ In the early years of the 7th C. a military adventurer, named Śaśāṅka, wielded the sceptre of Bengal, and made his mark in high political achievement.⁶ In Thanesar Prabhākaravardhana acquired an independent status for his family.⁷ Harṣavardhana, the younger son of Prabhākaravardhana, ascended the throne in 606 A. D. After the death of Grahavarman at the hand of Kāṭaccuri Buddharāja (A. D. 602—609)⁸ of Malwa, the Maukhari sovereignty

1 Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, pp. 78 ff.

2 Ibid., pp. 107 ff.

3 Fleet's Gupta Inscription, p. 146.

4 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 296.

5 Fleet's Gupta Inscription, pp. 219 ff. E. I., Vol. XIV, pp. 117, v. 13

6 Bāṅglār Itihās, by R. D. Banerji, Vol. I, pp. 99 ff.

7 The Life of Harṣa, by Dr. R. K. Mukherjee.

8 Cf. author's "Mālava in the 6th and 7th C. A. D.", to be published in J. B. O. R. S.

in Kanauj became virtually extinct. Harṣavardhana transferred his capital to Kanauj, and tried to establish paramount sovereignty over Northern India. It has not yet been definitely established how far he was able to realise his ambition. When Hiuen Tsang visited India about 630 A. D. he found the country divided into a large number of independent states. Malwa was at that time under the rule of an unknown dynasty. The political supremacy of Harṣa's family came to an end with Harṣa's death in 646 A. D. After this the Guptas who were expelled from Malwa by the Kāṭaccuries revived their authority in Magadha under Âdityasena. They ruled there for about a century.¹

In the early part of the 8th century A. D., the Pratihâras are found occupying the throne of Mâlava. Long before this one branch of these Pratihâras had established its authority in Jodhpur, in Rājputana.²

In the middle of the 8th century, Bengal witnessed the rise of a new and powerful dynasty in the Pâlas.³ In the latter part of the same century and the beginning of the 9th, there was a long protracted war between the Pratihâras of Malwa and the Pâlas for supremacy over Kanauj, which was then ruled by Cakrâyudha. The Pratihâras had to confront another formidable enemy in the Râṣtrakûṭas of the Deccan. In the early years of the 9th century they having been hard pressed by the Râṣtrakûṭas, surrendered Malwa to their control, which was thereafter entrusted to the charge of Upendra, the founder of the Paramâra dynasty. They, however, were compensated for their loss of Malwa by their

¹ J. A. S. B., 1920, p. 322.

² Jour. Dep. Le. Vol. X, pp. 6 ff.

³ "The Pâlas of Bengal", by R. D. Banerji, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

success on the north. The Pālas ultimately gave way, and the Pratihāra supremacy was established in Kanauj.

In the early part of the 10th C. A. D., the Pratihāras reconquered Malwa and established paramount sovereignty over the greater portion of Northern India. Their kingdom extended up to the foot of the Himalaya on the north, North Bengal on the east, the Narmada on the south, and Saurāstra, Sind, and the Punjab on the west. In the middle of the 10th century A. D., this vast empire collapsed, and was divided between a number of independent ruling dynasties. The Paramāras regained their sovereignty and firmly established themselves in Malwa. The Candellas¹ made themselves master of the territory around Bundelkhand. The Kalacuries² rose to importance in Jubbulpore. The Caulukyās³ founded a kingdom in Gujarat. Northern and Southern Marwar were governed by the Cāhamānas, and the Guhilas made themselves prominent in Mewar.⁴ Later on, in the latter part of the 11th century A. D., Kanauj was conquered by the Gāhadavālas,⁵ and in the early years of the 12th century A. D., the Senas⁶ wrested the sovereignty of Bengal from the Pālas. The Paramāras, Caulukyās, Cāhamānas, Guhilas, Kalacuries, Candellas, Gāhadavālas and the Senas were the last great Hindu ruling dynasties of Northern India. They held sway over it with unquestioned supremacy till they were overthrown by the Moslems. The narrative of the rise and fall of these dynasties constitutes the history of Northern India

1 I. A., Vol. XXXVII, p. 114.

2 Cuunningham's Archæological Survey, Vol. X.

3 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 156.

4 History of Mediaeval India, Vol. II, by C. V. Vaidya.

5 Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. V, p. 86.

6 Bāṅglār Itihās, by R. D. Banerji.

at this period. Hence there is a supreme importance in the study of the History of the Paramāras.

In 1901 Captain Luard and Mr. Lele wrote a short paper on the Paramāras of Dhar in the Dhar District Gazetteer. It is not a comprehensive work on the subject, and since then much more material bearing upon Paramāra history has been discovered. In the following pages I have tried to make a comprehensive and critical study of the subject, with the help of all the available evidence. The book has been divided into ten chapters. The first one deals with the origin of the Paramāra dynasty. Chapters two to seven comprise the political history of the Paramāras of Malwa ; the eighth chapter dwells upon the general condition and civilisation of Malwa during their suzerainty, whilst the ninth and tenth chapters deal respectively with the Paramāras of Abu, Vāgaḍa, Jalor and, Bhinmal.

The book was submitted as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of London in 1930. It was accepted as such on the recommendation of the Board of examiners, consisting of Dr. L. D. Barnett, M. A., D. LITT., Mr. J. Allan, M. A., and Mr. H. H. Dodwell, M. A. I am indebted to all those scholars for the valuable suggestions they offered for the improvement of the book. I desire also to record my deep gratitude to Dr R. C. Majumdar, M. A., PH. D., for the help he rendered me while the work was in progress. I was initiated into research in Indology by Dr. Majumdar, and what I learnt from him, has always served to lead me on in the path that I have chosen for myself. My thanks are due to Mrs. Indu Bala Ganguly, B. A., for reading the proof, and to Miss Anjali Banerje, for doing the index.

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HISTORY OF THE PARAMÂRA DYNASTY

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE PARAMÂRAS.

It was popularly believed that the founder of the Paramâra Family took his birth from a fire-pit on Mount Abu. The great poet Padmagupta was a contemporary of both the kings, Vâkpati-Muñja (A. D. 972-995) and his successor Sindhurâja. In his *Nava-sâhasânka-carita*, it is narrated that¹ Mount Abu (Arbuda) was a place of great sanctity where Vasiṣṭha, the first of the judges of Atharvana-Song and the house-priest of Ikṣvâku, had his residence. He had a 'wish-granting cow' which was once stolen and carried off by the son of Gâdhi (*i. e.* Viśvâmitra). This made him greatly indignant, whereupon he threw an offering into the fire with some holy sayings. At once a hero sprang out of the fire, with bow and crown and golden armour. He forcibly wrested the cow from Viśvâmitra and restored it to Vasiṣṭha. The grateful owner became highly pleased, and having given him the name of Paramâra, which means 'Slayer of the Enemy', made him supreme ruler of the earth. From this hero a family originated which was held in high esteem by virtuous kings. In course of time there was born a king named Upendra, who was a member of this family.

Bardic tales of Rajputana² relate that while the Sages were passing their days in deep meditation and

¹ Sarga XI. vv. 64-76.

² Tod's *Annals of Râjasthân*, ed. by Crooke, Vol. I, p. 113; A.S. I. (Cunn.), Vol. II, p. 255.

acts of devotion, the "daityas" (demons), who were always bent on mischief, became furious at those pious practices. The Brahmans dug pits for burnt sacrifices ; but the demons obstructed them by throwing ordure, blood, bones and flesh into them. On this the priests, gathering round the fire-pit, prayed to Mahâdeva for help. The great god took pity on them. A being arose ; but as he was destitute of martial qualities, the Brahmans placed him as a guardian of the gate, for which he was named Prthvîdhara, which ultimately was contracted to Parihâra and Pratihâra. A second being issued from the palm of Brahmâ's hand, and was named Caulukya. A third came forth, and was named Paramâra, 'Slayer of the Enemy', who with the assistance of the other two, gave battle to the demons, but failed to vanquish them. Then, following Vasistha's prayer for further help, another mighty figure, with deadly weapons in his hands, sprang forth from the fire. He, being "Caturânga" (four-armed), was given the name Cauhân. Through his military skill and personal bravery the demons were defeated and killed.

Another bard narrates that¹ once Indra made an image of dârvâ grass (*panicum dactylon*), sprinkled over it the water of life, and threw it into the fire-pit. Next the '*Sajivana-mantra*' (life-giving spell) was repeated, whereupon a mace-bearing figure sprang from the flames, shouting "Mar, Mar !" ('Slay !'). He was given the name Paramâra ('Slayer of the Enemy'), and received Abu, Dhar, and Ujjain as his heritage.

According to Mâtkî,² the bard of the Khici-cohân, "The Solâuki, who was given the appellation of Caluk-Rao, owed his origin to the essence of Brahmâ. The

¹ Bom. Gaz., Vol. IX, p. 485.

² A. S. I. (Cunn), Vol. II, p. 255.

Pwâr (*i. e.* Paramâra) originated from the essence of Śiva, and so the Pariyâr from the Devî's (Goddess') essence. The chosen race, the Cauhân, issued forth from the fount of fire and wandered forth, leaving Abu for Abhârh."

While a particular bard denies the fire-origin of the Paramâras, others maintain that not only the Cauhâns but the Paramâras, Parihâras, and Caulukyas as well were members of the fire-race. But none of the dynastic inscriptions of any of these families except those of the Paramâras speaks of their fire-origin. The earliest known record of the Cāhamānas is that of its Dholpur branch in Eastern Rajputana, which is dated A. D. 842.¹ The Harṣa stone inscription of Vighararāja, dated 973 A. D., is the earliest known dated inscription² of the main Cāhamāna line. The Dholpur inscription simply states that the dynasty belongs to "the goodly race of the eminent lord of the earth, Cāhavāna," and the Harṣa stone inscription too speaks of the dynasty without any reference to the fabulous stories related by the bards. The Vadnagar praśasti³ of the Caulukya Kumârapāla, dated 1151 A. D., states that Caulukya, the founder of the dynasty, was created out of water of the Ganges in the hollowed palms (*culuka*) of Brahmā. Similarly the Parihâras or Pratihâras⁴ are found to trace their descent from the epic hero Lakṣmaṇa.

In the Â'în-i-Akbarī⁵ the author acknowledges the fire-origin of the Paramâras, though he tells a quite different story in that connection. It is said that about

¹ E. I., Vol. V, App No. 12.

² Ibid., Vol. II, p. 116.

³ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 296.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 110.

⁵ Translated and annotated by Blochmann and Jarrett, Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.

two thousand three hundred and fifty years before the fortieth year of the divine era (*i. e.* B. C. 761), an ascetic named "Mahâbâh" burnt the first flame in a fire-temple and devoted himself to performing religious rites. People who desired to attain eternal salvation sacrificed their offerings in that temple of fire and were greatly attracted to that form of worship. This alarmed the Buddhists. They approached the temporal lord and succeeded in inducing Him to put a stop to that form of worship. The people now became very much mortified, and prayed to God for a hero who would be able to help them and would redress their grievances. The Supreme Justice created from this fire-temple a human figure equipped with all the qualities of a soldier. This brave warrior within a short time succeeded by the might of his arm in removing all obstacles that stood in the way of the peaceful performance of fire-worship. He assumed the name Dhanji, and, transferring his seat from the Deccan, established himself on the throne of Malwah. Putrâj was the fifth descendant of this line. But as he died without leaving any issue, Âditya-Ponwâr was elected by the nobles as his successor. He was followed by a line of kings who were called the "Paramâras."

We may now consider what the inscriptions of the Paramâras state regarding the subject in question. The Udayapur praśasti¹ of the reign of UdayÂditya (about 1072 A. D.) is the earliest known inscription of the main family of Dhârâ to register the mythical birth of the founder of the house. It states that 'there is in the West a son of the Himâlaya, that lofty mountain, called Arbuda (Abu), that gives the desired reward to those possessing (true) knowledge, and (is) the place where the

conjugal union of the Siddhas is perfect. There, Viśvā-mitra forcibly took from Vasiṣṭha (his) cow. Through his (Vasiṣṭha's) power, a hero arose from the fire-pit, who worked the destruction of the enemy's army. When he had slain the enemies, he brought back the cow ; then that sage spoke : "Thou wilt become a lord (of kings) called 'Paramāra'." The other inscriptions, which in general narrate the same story, are :—

- i. The Nagpur stone inscription ;¹
- ii. The Vasantgadhd inscription of Pūrṇapāla, dated 1042 A. D. ;²
- iii. The Mount Abu inscriptions, Nos. I and II ;
- iv. An unpublished inscription in the Acaleśvara temple at Abu ;³
- v. The Pāṭanārāyaṇa inscription ;⁴
- vi. The Arthuna inscription of the Paramāra Cāmuṇḍarāja ;⁵
- vii. The Mount Abu inscription.⁶

The account of these inscriptions agrees fully or partly with that given by the Nava-sāhasāṅka-carita. Needless to say, none of them helps us greatly in solving our problem. The only thing which can reasonably be gleaned from them is that 'Paramāra' was not the name of a race but of a family, which was first raised to high eminence by a hero after whom the family was called. The inscriptions clearly state that the family was known as the 'Paramāravamśa' because it took its descent from 'Paramāra.' The case was similar to that of many other

1 E. I., Vol. II, p. 180.

2 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 11.

3 Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 200.

4 I. A., Vol. XLIII, p. 193, foot note 2.

5 Ibid., Vol. XLV, p. 77.

6 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 295.

7 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 148.

ruling dynasties of ancient India. Mahārāja Gupta was the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha, and the family evidently derived its name from him.¹ The Pratihāras were a branch of the Gurjara race. They described themselves on rare occasions as Gurjaras,² and always preferred to be known as Pratihāras. Lakṣmaṇa, the hero of Hindu mythology, who bore the title of Pratihāra, is believed to have been the founder of this family.³

As this was the case, it is small wonder that the name "Paramāra" is not found in early Indian literatures as denoting a race, caste, or any of its subdivisions.⁴

1 Gupta coins, Mr. Allan, Introduction, xiv.

2 E. I., Vol. III, p. 266

3 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 110.

4 Almost all Indian historians are of the opinion that the 'Paramāras' were not original settlers in India. They say that the Paramāras came to India in the 5th or 6th century A. D., with the nomadic Hūṇa tribes which brought about the destruction of the mighty Gupta Empire. Mr. Watson, (I. A., Vol IV, p. 147.) following a Gujarati tradition, states that the Cāvaḍa Vanarāja was called a Paramāra, and speaks about a genealogy (Vaṃśāvalī) in which Vanarāja's family is described as having taken its descent from Vikramāditya of the Paramāra tribe. (Ibid., p. 148.) Cāvaḍas, Cāpas, Cāpotkaṭas are synonymous terms. The fact that the Cāvaḍas were Gurjaras is known from the astronomer Brahmagupta. He says that he prepared his work at Bhinmal in A. D. 628, under the Gurjara Vyāghramukha, who belonged to the Cāpa dynasty. (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 138, footnote 1.) Mr. Forbes points out that Jayaśekhara, the Cāvaḍa ruler of Pañcasār, was called a Gurjar lord (Rās Mālā, Vol. I, p. 34.). From all this it follows that the Paramāras, who were Cāvaḍas, were members of the Gurjara race. Mr. J. Campbell adds two other points in support of this theory of the Gurjara origin of the Paramāras. (Bom. Gaz., Vol. IX, p. 485.) He states that the Gurjara Osvāls are Paramāras, and Rāja Hūṇa who rendered help to the king of Chitor against

An inscription, dated V. S. 1005=948 A. D., of the reign of the Paramâra Siyaka II, has recently been discovered in the village of Harasola in the Prantej Taluq of the Ahmedabad District of Gujarat. It is the earliest known record of the dynasty, and runs as follows :—

“Parama--bhattâraka--mahârâjâdhirâja--paramesvara-
-śrîmad-Amoghavarṣa-deva-pâdânudhyâta-parama-bhattâ-
-raka-mahârâjâdhirâja--paramesvara--śrîmad--Akâlavarṣa-
-deva-prthivîvallabha-śrîvallabha-narendra-pâdânâṃ |

the Arabs, is said to have been a Paramâra. Dr. Bhandarkar also supports Mr. Campbell, and draws our attention to the fact that, (J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, pp. 428-29 ; Ibbetson, Census of the Punjab, p. 268.) “the Ferojpur Gurjaras of the Punjab have a tradition that they came from Dârṇagar in the South. As Dhârâ was from the beginning the seat of the Paramâras,” argues the learned scholar, “it is very likely that the Ferojpur Gurjaras were a collateral branch of the former.” As all of the four tribes, *viz.*, the Cāhamânas, the Caulukyās, the Paramâras, and the Parihâras claim descent from the Agnikuṇḍa (Fire-pit), it may be assumed that they belonged to one and the same race. The Parihâras were undoubtedly Gurjaras. (Rajore Stone inscription, E. I., Vol. III, p. 266.) This settles also the origin of the other three members of the ‘Agni kula’.

Another eminent scholar who upholds the above view is Dr. A. F. R. Hornle. He describes (J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 31.) the Pratihâras, the Paramâras, the Cohâns, the Candels, the Kachhwahās, etc., as constituent elements of the Gurjara race.

Now all these arguments advanced by the learned scholars are open to discussion. Tradition is their main source of evidence. No authentic material has yet been discovered to prove a Gurjara origin of the Paramâras. Even Mr. Watson remarks that (I. A., Vol. IV, p. 148.) “Although the above traditions etc. are not sufficient grounds to assert positively that the Cāvaḍas are a branch of the Paramâras, yet they seem to convey the possibility of this being the case.” Much may be said against Dr. Bhandarkar’s suggestion. The inscriptions of the

Tasmin kule kalmaṣa-moṣa-dakṣe | jātaḥ pratāpāgni
-hutāri-pakṣaḥ V(B)appaiyarājeti nṛpaḥ prasiddhas tasmāt
suto bhūd anu Vairisimha | Drpt-āri-vanitā-vaktra
-camdra-V(b)imv(b)a-kalaṃkatā no dhautā yasya kīrti
āpi-Hara-hās-āvadātayā || Durvvāra-ripu-bhūpāla-raṇa
-raṅgaika-nāyakaḥ | nṛpaḥ śrī-Sīyakas tasmāt kula-kalpa
-drumo bhavat ||

It may be summarised as follows, in English :—

“Parama-bhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Akālavarṣa-deva Prthvivallabha meditated upon the feet of Parama-bhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Amoghavarṣa-deva. In the renowned family of that sovereign was born the king Vappaiyarāja, who was efficient in eradicating crime and who burnt his enemy by the flame of his power. His son and successor was the famous Vairisimha, who was followed by Sīyaka, a brave warrior invincible to his enemies in battle.

Cāhamānas, the Caulukyās, and the Parihāras do not assert anything about their fire-origin. On the contrary, they tell us quite different tales in that connection. The grouping of these three races under ‘Agnikula’ is nothing but a figment of imagination of the bards of the later ages. Again, it does not seem to be quite proper to infer that the Paramāras were Gurjaras because there is a tradition that the Firozpur Gurjaras once lived in Dārṇagar.

Dr. Lassen thinks (Ind -Alterthumsk, III, p. 822.) that the Paramāras are the Porvarai mentioned by Ptolemy, and remarks that “Their name in this form comes nearer to the old Paramāra than to that of the present time Purwar or Powar, of which we get the second in Powargarh, *i. e.*, Powargadh, fort of Powar, the name of Campanir, the old capital of the district in North Gujarat.” Mr. Burgess (I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 166 (footnote).) rightly objects to this assertion put forward by Dr. Lassen, pointing out that *Porvarai* of Ptolemy means a people, while the Paramāras were only a Kṣatriya family, from which no name of a district is yet known to owe its origin,

Akālavarṣa, the son of Amoghavarṣa, in whose family Bappaiyarāja was born, is evidently the Rāṣtrakūṭa Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa III, king of Mānyakheta. The known dates of his reign range from A. D. 940 to 951.¹ He was a contemporary of the Paramāra Śīyaka II, and was, in all probability, his suzerain lord. Vappai is a prakrit form of Vākpati.² In the Gaudavaho Kāvya its author Vākpati is described as Vappai. Vappai referred to in the Harsola grant is undoubtedly the same as Vākpatirāja I, the father of Vairisimha II. Hence it is evident from the above grant that the Paramāras were members of the Rāṣtrakūṭa race. The Rāṣtrakūṭa origin of the Paramāras is further proved by the fact that Vākpati-Muñja, the son of Śīyaka II, assumed the Rāṣtrakūṭa titles of Amoghavarṣa, Śrīvallabha, and Prthivīvallabha.³ No other inscription of this dynasty has yet been found to throw any light in that direction. The records of the Pratihāras present an analogous case. None of them except one contains any reference to the Gurjara origin of the Pratihāras.⁴

The original home of the Paramāras must have been in the Deccan, which once formed the home dominion of the Imperial Rāṣtrakūṭas. It is also stated in the Ā'in-i-Akbarī⁵ that Dhanjī, the founder of the Paramāra family, transferring his seat from the Deccan,⁶ established himself in the sovereignty of Mālava.

1 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 421.

2 Kāvya-prakāśa, ed. Maheschandra Nyayaratna, 1886, p. 119.

3Amoghavarṣa-deva parābhīdhāna-śrīmad-Vākpati-deva-prthivīvallabha-śrīvallabha-narendra-devaḥ kuśalo |

4 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 51 ; Vol. XIV, p. 160.

5 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.

6 The question may reasonably be asked why the Paramāras in their later records made no mention of their Rāṣtrakūṭa

10 HISTORY OF THE PARAMĀRA DYNASTY

I shall now endeavour to trace the course of events which led the Paramāra family to depart from its ancient home and to establish numerous settlements in the north of the Narmada.

It is an established fact that the main branch of the family ruled in Mālava or Avanti. This country, prior to the establishment of the Paramāras, was ruled by a Pratihāra branch of the Gurjara race, whose royal residence was fixed at Ujjain.¹ The kingdom of this Pratihāra family seems to have extended up to the Narmada, nearly seventy miles south of Ujjain,

origin. In the Epigraphic records of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries A. D. (E. I., Vol. X, P. 17; Vol. IX, P. 248.), a number of petty ruling families are found to describe themselves as members of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race. The cause of the omission of the Paramāras to do so is not very far to seek. Padmagupta's *Nava-sāhasāṅka-carita*, written between the years 996-1000 A. D., is the earliest known record to describe the family as "Paramāra", and to mention the mythical birth of its founder. At the time of writing six royal grants have been discovered which were issued by the earlier Paramāra kings. In none of them is the family to which those kings belonged entitled "Paramāra." On the contrary, some of them are found claiming relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race. In that age, as has been noticed above, it was a general custom among the imperial ruling dynasties to trace their origin from some mythical heroes and to name their families after them. The records of the Pratihāras present very decisive evidence to that effect. They were evidently Gurjaras (E. I., Vol. III, p. 266.) by race; but they persistently designated themselves as Pratihāras because they believed that the epic hero Lakṣmaṇa-Pratihāra was the founder of their family. The Paramāras did not make themselves an exception to this general rule. After their attainment of the imperial power they too seem to have put forward similar pretensions.

1 J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 23 footnote.

beyond which lay the dominion of the Rāṣtrakūṭas of Mānyakheta.¹ Nāgabhaṭa I, the founder of this dynasty, began his career of administration about 725 A. D.² The Rāṣtrakūṭas of the Deccan were a constant source of trouble to the government of these Pratihāras. Dantidurga, the founder of the Rāṣtrakūṭa kingdom, is reported to have made the Gurjara lords among others doorkeepers (Pratihāra) when the great "Hiranya-garbha" was performed in Ujjain by the Kṣatriyas.³ Nāgabhaṭa I was followed by Kakkuka, Devarāja, and Vatsarāja. As regards the last mentioned king, we learn from a passage of the Jaina Harivaṃśa⁴ that he was ruling in Avanti in Śaka (expired) 705=783-84 A. D. Vatsarāja was succeeded by Nāgabhaṭa II, during whose reign⁵ the hostility between the Pratihāras and the Rāṣtrakūṭas reached its culminating point, in consequence of which Mālava was lost to the Pratihāras. In the early years of the 9th century A. D., Govinda III (794-814, A. D.) was on the throne of the Rāṣtrakūṭa kingdom. In regard to one of his military exploits, verse 16 of the Rādhānpur plates,⁶ dated Śaka 730 (expired)=808 A. D., informs us that "Seeing that the sole way to preserve his fortune was to bow down at his (Govinda III's)

1 Malkhed, in the Nizam's Dominions.

2 J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 26.

3 E. I., Vol. XVIII, pp. 238-39.

4 I. A., Vol. XV, p. 141; Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 197, foot note 2; J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 23 ff.

5 Nāgabhaṭa's inscription is dated 815 A. D. (J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 36) He died in V. S. 890=833 A. D. (E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 179, footnote 3) As the only known date of his predecessor, Vatsarāja, is 783 A. D., he must have ruled between this date and 833 A. D.

6 E. I., Vol. VI, pp. 238-39.

feet, the lord of Mālava, versed in policy, bowed to him from afar with folded hands.”¹

The Mālava king referred to above is to be identified with Nāgabhaṭa II, who, as we have just seen, mounted

1 (a) It is known from the Sanjan copper plate of Amoghavarṣa I, (E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 253), that Govinda III conquered Mālava, having followed the course of the Narmada. The Baroda plate of Karkarāja, dated 812 A. D. (I. A., Vol. XII, p. 160), lays down that Govinda III made Karkarāja, who was the ruler of Central and Southern Gujarat, a ‘door-bar’ of the Gurjaras for the protection of the king of Mālava. It will be shown below that these Gurjaras were none other than the Pratihāras of Jodhpur. A close consideration of the above two records establishes the fact that ‘Mālava’, as mentioned in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, denotes Eastern Mālava or Avanti.

(b) Verse 15 of the Radhanpur plates records that “the Gurjara, in fear (of Govinda III), vanished nobody knew whither so that even in a dream, he might not see battle.” The Sanjan copper plate of Amoghavarṣa I tells us that Govinda III was a “destruction to the valour of the head of the thundering Gurjaras” (V 32). This inscription again reports that the fame of Nāgabhaṭa was carried away by the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief (v. 22). Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks that the Gurjaras, referred to above, were none other than Nāgabhaṭa and his family (J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 44). But a comparison of the above two verses of the Sanjan plate will show that Nāgabhaṭa is carefully distinguished from the Gurjaras. The Nilgund inscription, dated 866 A. D. (E. I., Vol. VI, p. 106, v. 5), finally settles the matter by stating that the Gurjaras, whom Govinda III vanquished, dwelt in the hill fort of Citrakūṭa, which is to be identified with the modern Chitorgaḍh, in Udaipur state, Rajputana (cf. Chitorgaḍh ins. of the Caulukya Kumārapāla, E. I., Vol. II, p. 421). The Pratihāras of Jodhpur, who, in the early years of the 9th century A. D., regained power and prestige under Kakka, held sway over this part of the country (J. Dep. L., Vol. X, pp. 48-49). Hence there can hardly be any doubt that the Gurjaras alluded to in the Rādhapur and Sanjan plates were this branch of the Pratihāras.

the throne of Avanti after the close of the reign of Vatsarāja. Regarding Nāgabhaṭa's defeat by the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief, we further learn from verse 22 of the Sanjan plate of Amoghavarṣa that¹ "Carrying away in battles the fair and unshakable fame of kings Nāgabhaṭa and Candragupta, he (Govinda III), intent upon the acquisition of fame, uprooted, like 'sali' corn, other kings in their own dominions, who had become destitute of all fortitude, and afterwards reinstated them in their own places."

From the comparison of the above two verses of the Radhanpur and Sanjan plates, it appears that, though Govinda III carried away the glory of Nāgabhaṭa by extorting his submission, he allowed the latter to rule his territory for a certain period. It is known² that the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch launched a campaign against the northern countries and in his triumphant march advanced to the Himālaya, whereupon, Dharmapāla, king of Bengal, and his vassal, Cakrāyudha of Kanauj, surrendered themselves to his mercy. This glorious achievement must have followed his victory over the king of Mālava, whose kingdom evidently bordered the northern boundary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire. But immediately on his return from the northern expedition he is found to have changed his policy regarding Mālava and some other neighbouring provinces in the south. Verse 24 of the Sanjan plates records that³ "Govinda III returned from there (*i. e.* from his northern expedition) (thinking) that it was the work of the ministerial servants, and following again the bank of the Narmada as if (following his own) prowess, and acquiring the Mālava country

¹ E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 253.

² Ibid., Vol. V, p. 23.

³ E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 253.

along with Kosala, Kalinga, Vamga (Vemgi), Dāhala, and Odraka, that Vikrama *himself made his servants enjoy them.*"¹

It is quite evident from the above verse that this time Govinda III finally expelled Nāgabhaṭa from his ancestral dominions and entrusted the charge of the administration of Mālava to one of his vassals. No doubt can be entertained that Mālava was, on this occasion, permanently incorporated into the Rāṣtrakūṭa empire, for, in subsequent years, Govinda III is found to take sufficient care for the protection of its ruler against the incursions of the Gurjaras.

Nāgabhaṭa, though he was not strong enough to cope successfully with the Rāṣtrakūṭa power, was evidently a general of a high order. Having now been deprived of his paternal throne, he thought it wise to try his luck in the north. There he found that the whole of the region from Bengal right up to the border of the Punjab was under the sway of the Pālas of Bengal, and that a chief named Cakrāyudha had been ruling in Kanauj as their protégé.² Of the Pālas and the Rāṣtrakūṭas,

¹ Kosala is the upper valley of the Mahanadi and its tributaries, from the source of the Narmada on the north to the source of the Mahanadi itself on the south. Vemgi corresponds to the modern Vegi or Pedda-Vegi, a village in the Godavari District. Dāhala is the Cedi country, whose capital was Tripurī (mod. Tewar, 6 miles west of Jubbulpore, on the Narmada).

Mr Cunningham, on the evidence of the report of Hiuen Tsang, states that Kosala was bounded by Ujjain on the north, Mahārāṣṭra on the west, Orissa on the east, and Andhra and Kalinga on the south. This shows that all these countries which Govinda III conquered were contiguous. (An. Geog., edited by S. N. Majumdar, p. 603).

² Bāṅglār Itihās, by R. D. Banerji, Vol. I, pp. 191 ff. (2nd edition).

the former were evidently the less powerful. It has been noticed above that the Pāla Dharmapāla and his subordinate Cakrāyudha had on a previous occasion been forced to submit to the military power of Govinda III. Hence the rise of Nāgabhaṭa, as verse 10 of Bhoja's Gwalior inscription¹ purports to say, was possible only if he could defeat the king of Bengal. He enlisted the services of Kakka, the Pratihāra king of Jodhpur, Bāhukadhavala, the feudatory chief of Saurāstra, and some other princes, and marched against Bengal.² Dharmapāla arrayed his army near Monghyr to oppose him, but was defeated and forced to retreat.³ It was now very difficult for Cakrāyudha to hold his position any longer. He surrendered to Nāgabhaṭa his territory of Kanauj where a new Pratihāra sovereignty was readily established.⁴ Subsequently, Nāgabhaṭa made another attempt to regain his lost dominion of Mālava, and apparently succeeded in capturing an outlying fortress of that country.⁵ But the effect of this achievement was but temporary. During the reign of Nāgabhaṭa's successor Rāmabhadra (A. D. 833—835), Gwalior formed the southern boundary of the Pratihāra kingdom of Kanauj.⁶

¹ E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 112.

² J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 40.

³ Ibid. ; E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 112, v. 10.

⁴ Vatsarāja is described as the ruler of Avanti. The *Prabhāvaka-carita* (E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 179, fn. 3) mentions his successor, Nāgabhaṭa, as "Nāgāvaloka of Kanauj." In the early years of the 9th century A. D. Cakrāyudha was the ruler of Kanauj, who is reported to have sustained a reverse at the hands of Nāgabhaṭa. Hence it can hardly be doubted that it was during the reign of Nāgabhaṭa that Kanauj became a kingdom of the Pratihāras.

⁵ E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 112, v. 11.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 154 ff,

Not only the Pratihāras of Kanauj, but also those of the Jodhpur branch, were a constant source of trouble to the newly established Mālava government.¹ These Jodhpur Pratihāras gained new life and vigour under their ruler Kakka, who acquired much reputation by fighting successfully against Dharmapāla of Bengal at Monghyr.² Kakka was apparently a contemporary of Govinda III and Nāgabhaṭa II, as his son and successor Bāuka is known to have been ruling in V. S. 894 = A. D. 837.³ His success over the king of Bengal encouraged him to lead an army against his south-eastern neighbour, the new ruler of Mālava, whose name is not definitely mentioned in any record. He seems to have gained a preliminary success over the Mālava chief. But Govinda III readily came to the assistance of his feudatory, and succeeded in routing Kakka's forces. After this, as a safeguard against further trouble, the Rāṣtrakūṭa monarch appointed his feudatory Karkarāja a guardian for the protection of the high road to Mālava against the incursions of the Gurjaras. Karkarāja's grant, dated 812-13 A. D., tells us that 'having for the purpose of protecting (the king of) Mālava, who had been struck down, caused his (Karkarāja's) arm to become the excellent door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gurjaras, who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the lord of

1 In the middle of the 6th century A. D. the Gurjaras advanced from their settlements in the Punjab towards Rajputana. About that time the Pratihāra Haricandra founded a kingdom in the territory now roughly represented by the Jodhpur State. He was followed by a line of princes, who maintained their political authority until the middle of the 9th century A. D. (J. Dep L., Vol. X, pp. 7, 13, 14).

2 E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 98, v. 24.

3 Ibid., p. 94.

4 I. A., Vol. XII, p. 164, v 39—Baroda plates.

Gauḍa and the lord of Vaṅga,—his master (Govinda III) thus enjoys his other (arm) also as (embodying all) the fruits of sovereignty.”¹

This is, in my opinion, the real history of the overthrow of the Pratihāra rule in Mālava, which was henceforward governed by a subordinate chief of the imperial Rāṣtrakūṭas. The date of this memorable event can be fixed within the narrow limit of a few years. From the Radhanpur plates, dated 808 A. D., we know definitely that Govinda III, on the humble submission of the old king of Mālava, allowed the latter to govern his own territory. But the Sanjan plates, dated 871 A. D., inform us that it was finally acquired by the same Rāṣtrakūṭa king, and was handed over to one of his officers for administration. This proves that Mālava became a part of the Rāṣtrakūṭa empire some time after 808 A.D. The Baroda plate of Karkarāja, as has been observed above, records the arrangements which Govinda III made for the protection of the Mālava prince against the onslaughts of the Gurjaras. As this grant is dated 812-13 A. D.,

I I agree with Dr. R. C. Majumdar in thinking that Nāgabhaṭa, Kakka, and others formed a confederacy against Dharmapāla, and defeated the latter in Monghyr (J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 40). If this proves to be true, then the allied army must have achieved this success before 812-13 A. D., the date of the Baroda plate of Karkarāja, in which the fact is recorded. It has been seen above that, as the result of this victory, Kanauj fell into the hands of Nāgabhaṭa. Henceforth it was for a long time the chief seat of the Pratihāras. It follows from this that, when the Baroda plate was issued in 812 A. D., Nāgabhaṭa was ruling in Kanauj and Kakka in Jodhpur. In these circumstances, Karkarāja, who was the ruler of Central and Southern Gujarat, could only serve as a “door-bar” of the territory of the Jodhpur Pratihāras, and not of the kingdom of Nāgabhaṭa, which lay far to the north-east of Mālava, at Kanauj.

the acquisition of Mālava and the appointment of a ruler over it by Govinda III must have taken place before that date. From all these facts it can safely be asserted that between the years 808 and 812 A. D., the Gurjara-Pratihāras were expelled from Mālava and its sovereignty was assumed by a new ruling chief, as a vassal of the Rāṣtrakūṭas of Mānyakheta.

I shall now try to show that this new ruler of Mālava was, in all probability, Upendra-Kṛṣṇarāja, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty.

The Rāṣtrakūṭas, having conquered a large tract of land on the north of the Narmada, divided it generally among the efficient members of their own family. Govinda III posted his brother Indrarāja, who was the father of Karkarāja of the Baroda plate, in the province of Lāṭa and Gujarat.¹ Similarly in Pathari, in the Bhopal Agency of Central India, and in Bijapur, in the Jodhpur State of Southern Rajputana, other Rāṣtrakūṭa princes are found ruling about this period.² Between Pathari and Gujarat lay the country of Mālava. It is very probable that Govinda III set up another member of his family in the government of this country, which was undoubtedly a responsible office. The Harsola grant of Siyaka II, quoted above, testifies to the fact that Upendra and his successors were descended from the royal family of the Rāṣtrakūṭas. The Ā'in-i-Akbarī states that the hero who founded the Paramāra dynasty in Mālava came there from the South.³ The period when Upendra assumed the royalty of Mālava can now be approximately determined. Vākpati-Muñja, the seventh king in descent from Upendra, ascended the

¹ I. A., Vol. XII, p. 163, line 30.

² E. I., Vol. IX, p. 248; *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 17.

³ Translated by Jarrett, Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.

throne between 971 and 972 A. D. If a period of twenty-five years is allowed to each reign, Upendra's accession is to be considered as having taken place in the first quarter of the 9th century A. D. Professor Buhler is of opinion that Upendra ascended the throne of Mālava shortly after 800 A. D.¹ It has already been seen above that the charge of the government of Mālava was undertaken by a new ruling chief after the overthrow of the Pratihāra dynasty, between the years 808 and 812 A. D. This corresponds with the period in which Upendra flourished. All these considerations, in spite of the absence of any definite evidence, favour the identification of Upendra with the subordinate chief, whom Govinda III appointed to rule the country of Mālava. He probably followed the Rāṣtrakūṭa army in its northern march, and was entrusted with this office in return for his valuable military service. The Udayapur prasasti tells us that he "gained the high honour of kingship by his valour."²

Thus we see that it was from the south of the Narmada that the Paramāra family was brought to Mālava by Upendra Kṛṣṇarāja. Upendra was followed by a line of kings who ruled this country for nearly five hundred years, till the dynasty was finally overthrown by the Moslems.

Archæological research has discovered the existence of some more branch-lines of the Paramāras, four in number, who held sway over the modern Banswara, Mount Abu, and the Jodhpur State, in Rajputana.

The history of the Paramāra family of Banswara, which was anciently known as Vāgaḍa, is to be gathered mainly from the Arthuna inscription³ of Cāmunḍarāja,

¹ E. I., Vol. I, p. 225.

² Ibid., Vol. I, p. 237, v. 7.

³ Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 297.

dated 1080 A. D., and the Panhera inscription¹ of Mandalika, dated 1059 A. D. The origin of this family is also traced from the hero Paramāra, who was believed to have been born from the fire-pit on Mount Abu.² In the lineage of this hero was born Vairisimha, whose younger brother was Dambarasimha. In the lineage of the last mentioned prince there was a king named Kakkadeva, who was followed by a long line of princes.³ I agree with Dr. Barnett in thinking⁴ that this Vairisimha is identical with the Vairisimha I who was the son and successor of Upendra Kṛṣṇarāja. It follows, therefore, that this Paramāra family was a collateral branch of the main house of Dhārā, and settled in Banswara in the middle of the 9th century A. D.

Numerous historical records stand to prove that a Paramāra family held sway for a long time over Mount Abu, which lies in the modern Sirohi State of Rajputana. The Vasantgaḍh inscription⁵ of Pârṇapāla is the earliest known record of this family. It relates that through the anger of Vasiṣṭha, a hero was born from whom the Paramāra family took its origin. In his lineage there was a king Utpalarāja, from whom sprang Aranyarāja. Aranyarāja was followed by a long line of princes who were known as the rulers of Arbudamaṇḍala.

An inscription from Mount Abu,⁶ while describing the story of the fire-birth of the great hero Paramāra, tells us that in his lineage was Kanhāḍa, in whose family was born Dhandhu, the lord of the town of Candrāvattī, in Mount Abu. Dhandhu may reasonably be identified

1 A. S. I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 19.

2 E. I., Vol. XIV, pp. 303-4.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., p. 296.

5 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 10.

6 Ibid., p. 155.

with the father of Pūrṇapāla of the Vasantgadḥ inscription. As no king named Kanhāḍa is found in the genealogy of the Paramāra rulers of Mount Abu, as stated by the Vasantgadḥ inscription, it appears probable that he preceded Utpalarāja. We have ample evidence to prove that the names Kanhāḍa and Kṛṣṇarāja are synonymous. In the two Mount Abu inscriptions,¹ both dated 1287 V. S., the Paramāra Somasiṃha's son and successor is mentioned in one place as Kanhāḍa and in another place as Kṛṣṇarāja. In the Ujjain plate of Vākpati-Muñja,² the earliest ruler of the family is mentioned as Kṛṣṇarāja, who is identified by all the modern scholars³ with Upendra, the founder of the sovereignty of this family in Mālava. In ancient records,⁴ like Kanhāḍa of the Mount Abu inscription, Upendra is described as being born in the lineage of the hero Paramāra, and as the first king of the family. Taking all these things into consideration, I am inclined to believe that Kanhāḍa of the Mount Abu inscription is identical with Kṛṣṇarāja of Vākpati-Muñja's Ujjain grant.⁵

Vākpati-Muñja, seventh in descent from Upendra-Kṛṣṇarāja, was also known by the name Utpala.⁶ In

¹ E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 211, v. 42 ; cf. *ibid.*, p. 222, line 26. Kanhāḍa is a regular Prakrit equivalent for Kṛṣṇa.

² I. A., Vol. VI, p. 52.

³ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, p. 114, fn. ; E. I., Vol. I, p. 225 ; I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 167.

⁴ E. I., Vol. I, p. 225 ; I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 167.

⁵ In the Mount Abu inscription Dhandhu is described as the foremost of the heroes that were born in the family of Kanhāḍadeva (Tat-kula-kamala-vīrāgragaṇi Dhaṃhu—E. I., Vol. IX, p. 155, v. 5). This suggests that Dhandhu was removed by several generations from Kanhāḍa. Hence Kanhāḍadeva cannot be identical with Adbhuta-kṛṣṇarāja, who was the grandfather of Dhandu.

⁶ I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 163.

my opinion, this Paramāra king is to be identified with the prince of the same name mentioned in the Vasant-gaḍh inscription. Of all the rulers of the Paramāra family, Vākpati-Muñja or Utpala was the first to lead his army into the neighbourhood of Mount Abu, during his military excursions. If all the records,¹ throwing light on his northern conquest, are considered together, it follows that he, having conquered Mewar and its neighbourhood, reached the country of Marwar and threatened to overthrow the existing Cāhamāna government.² There follows in the next chapter an exhaustive discussion on this subject proving that he succeeded in securing the southern portion of it, though his attempt to conquer Nadol met with signal failure.³ Prior to undertaking the expedition against Marwar, he must have conquered Mount Abu, which stood in his line of approach to that country. During this time he probably established several Paramāra settlements in his newly conquered territories and appointed his son Aranyarāja to look after the administration of the province of Abu (Arbudamaṇḍala).⁴

¹ E. I., Vol. X, p. 20 ; I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 18 ; E. I., Vol. XI, pp. 67 ff. ; *ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 71, *vide post*, Chapt. III.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Some scholars suggest that Mount Abu was the original home of the Paramāras, whence they migrated to Mālava and there founded a kingdom of their own ("The Early History of India", by V. A. Smith, p. 410, 4th ed.). This is entirely based on the traditional belief that the founder of the Paramāra family took his birth from a fire-pit on Mount Abu. In my opinion, very little importance should be attached to this mythical story. Tradition also connects the birth of the founders of the Cāhamānas, Caulukyās, and the Pratihāras with the same Mount Abu. It would not be wise to infer from this that all of them originally

Of the remaining two branch lines, it is known that one established its authority at Jalor and the other at Bhinmal, both of them being situated in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana. The history of the Jalor branch is known from an inscription¹ found at Jalor, bearing the date V. S. 1174=1117 A. D. Here the genealogy of the family is drawn from Vākpatirāja, whose son was Candana. Candana apparently flourished in the last quarter of the 10th century A. D., which was also the period of Vākpati-Muñja's rule (973-996 A. D.).² This leads me to conclude with Dr. Bhandarkar that Vākpati of the Jalor inscription is apparently the same as Vākpati-Muñja of Dhārā.

Our knowledge about the history of the Bhinmal branch is mainly limited to the evidence furnished by an inscription³ discovered in the wall of a temple in Kiraḍu. The record is dated 1218 V. S.=1161 A. D. Here Sindhurāja is described as the earliest member of the family, whose son and successor was Dūsala. This Sindhurāja may probably be identified with the younger brother and successor of Vākpati-Muñja. Vākpati, as has been noticed above, once proceeded as far as the country of Marwar, in the course of his military campaigns. It may be that during that time Candana and Dūsala were posted in Jalor and Bhinmal respectively as Viceroys of the imperial house of Dhārā.

lived on it and later migrated in different directions. Mount Abu has been considered as a place of great sanctity from time immemorial. The author of the above story probably connected it with that locality in order to make it more attractive and popular.

¹ Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (Western Circle), 1919, p. 54. (Unpublished).

² Vide post, Chapt. X.

³ Unpublished.

24 HISTORY OF THE PARAMĀRA DYNASTY

If my above assertions prove to be true, we may find here some landmarks of the history of the Paramāras' gradual expansion. The tradition runs that the Paramāras were divided into thirty-five branches (śākhās),¹ viz.: the

1 Mori	13 Bhiva	25 Harnar
2 Sodhas	14 Kalpusar	26 Caonda
3 Saṅkhala	15 Kalmoh	27 Khejav
4 Khair	16 Jipra	28 Kohila
5 Umja	17 Pasra	29 Papa
6 Sumra	18 Dhumta	30 Kahovia
7 Vihal or Bihal	19 Balhar	31 Dhand
8 Mepawat	20 Kaba	32 Deva
9 Sagra	21 Umata	33 Barhar
10 Barkota	22 Rehar	34 Rikamra
11 Puni	23 Dhunda	35 Taika.
12 Sampal	24 Sorathia	

Nothing is known of their early existence. They were, no doubt, the ramifications of the early ruling Paramāra families. The existence of some of these branch-lines can be traced now in Western Rajputana and the Kathiawar Peninsula.²

Now, if all these discussions are briefly summarised, it follows that, between 808 and 812 A. D., Upendra, a member of the Rāṣtrakūṭa race, obtained the sovereignty of Mālava, through the favour of the Rāṣtrakūṭa Govinda III, who wrested the country from the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II. Later, when his successors assumed imperial rank, they, following the general custom of the age, traced their descent from a mythical

¹ Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthan*. Ed. by Crooke, 1920, Vol. I, pp. 111-112.

² Bom. Gaz., Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 127-28.

hero named Paramâra. Dambarasimha, a son of Upendra, founded a principality in the modern Banswara State. In the last quarter of the 10th century A. D., three more junior lines branched off from the ruling family of Dhârâ and established governments in Abu, Jalor, and Bhinmal, where they ruled for a long time. The Paramâras, as they multiplied in the course of ages, split up into numerous small branches, and settled in various parts of Rajputana, Gujarat, and Kathiawar, in most cases without attaining to any considerable political power.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY PARAMÂRA RULERS

In this and the following chapters, I shall now try to narrate the history of all the known branches of the Paramâra dynasty. It has been noticed already that the family which held its sway in Malwa formed the main line, and the others were its offshoots. These rulers of Malwa played an important rôle in the history of ancient India, and once attained a high imperial position. They were sometimes designated as lords of Malwa and sometimes as kings of Avanti. They were also known as rulers of Ujjain and Dhârâ. In their palmy days, the boundary of their realm extended on the north up to the modern Kotah and Bundi States,¹ beyond which lay the territory of the Kacchapaghâtas of Dubkund and the Guhilots of Mewar;² on the east up to Bhilsa, Hoshangabad and part of the Sagor District³ which bordered on the kingdoms of the Kalacuris of Tripurî and the Candellas of Jejâkabhukti; on the south to the river Godavari⁴ and the country of Khandesh,⁵ beyond which lay the dominions of the Çâlukyas of Kalyani; on the west up to the river Mahi,⁶ which separated it from the land of the Çaulukya rulers of Gujarat. In the latter part of the tenth century A. D., when Padmagupta

¹ Transactions of the R. A. S., Vol. I, pp. 227 ff.

² E. I., Vol. II, p. 232.

³ I. A., Vol. XX, pp. 83-84.

⁴ Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 33.

⁵ E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 69.

⁶ Proceedings and Transactions—Oriental Conference, Poona, p. 319; *ibid.*, Madras, 1924, p. 303, fn.; E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 236.

flourished (972-1000 A. D.), Ujjain became for a time the seat of its government. ¹

The modern city of Ujjain is situated on the right bank of the Sipra, in Gwalior State, Central India Agency, and the ancient site lies in ruins about a mile to the north of it. It is an old city of great repute. Long before the ascendancy of the Paramāras, Dhārā had attained to the position of the chief city in Malwa. Īśvaravarman, the Maukhari king of Kanauj, repelled an attack of the king of Dhārā. ² Padmagupta describes Dhārā as the "other city" of the king Sindhurāja, and also as the "capital of his race." ³ This proves that it was at Dhārā that the family first established its government. In the early part of the 11th century A.D., the city was rebuilt, ⁴ and the royal residence was transferred thither. In the Pārijātamañjarī, Dhārā is described as the city of palaces, containing beautiful pleasure gardens on the hills around it. ⁵ It was famous for its skilful musicians and learned scholars. A high state of civilisation and refinement prevailed there. ⁶ It is the modern town of Dhar, the headquarters of the State of the same name in Central India, and is three-quarters of a mile long and half a mile broad. Mr. Cunningham remarks that "As the citadel is outside the town, the whole circuit of the place cannot be less than 3½ miles." ⁷

1 Navasāhasāñka-carita, sarga XI, verse 99.

praśasti parito viśvam Ujjiyinyāṇi puri sthitaḥ |

ayaṇi Yayāti-Māndhātṛ-Dusyanta-Bharatopamaḥ ||

2 Fleet's Gupta Inscription, p. 230.

3 Aparā-purī ; kula-rājadhānī ; Navas, sarga I, vs. 90-91.

4 Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 46.

5 E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 101 ff.

6 Ibid.

7 An. Geo., p. 562.

UPENDRA.

We have dealt at length in the foregoing chapter on the course of events that led to the settlement of the Paramāra family in Malwa. There we have noticed that Upendra was the first king of this dynasty, and was a subordinate chief of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III. Both the Udayapur Praśasti¹ and the Navasāhasāṅka-carita² state that Upendra was a king of great valour, and was particularly famous for performing a 'multitude of sacrifices.' The first record further tells us that the king reduced the burden of taxes borne by his subjects.³ It again recounts that his fame spread far and wide — which formed the subject-matter of the Song of Sītā and which comforted her, just as Hanumāna consoled the weary mind of Sītā, the wife of the epic hero Rāma, during her captivity in the city of Lankā (Ceylon).⁴ The Prabandhacintāmaṇi⁵ reports that there was a poetess named Sītā who lived in the court of Bhoja. It may be that the above verse of the Navasāhasāṅka-carita refers to a certain eulogy which was composed by that poetess in honour of Upendra.⁶

In the two land grants⁷ of Vākpati-Muñja, there appears a name Kṛṣṇarāja, at whose feet Vairisimha II, the father of Siyaka-Harṣa, meditated. Mr. Hall remarks that the names Upendra and Kṛṣṇarāja are synonymous.⁸ As the Udayapur Praśasti does not mention any king by

¹ E. I., Vol. I, p. 225.

² Sarga XI, v. 76.

³ Ibid., vv. 76, 78.

⁴ Ibid., v. 77.

⁵ Prabandha, p. 63.

⁶ Vide Chapter VIII.

⁷ I. A., Vol. VI, p. 48 ; *ibid*, Vol. XIV, p. 160.

⁸ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, p. 114, fn

the name Kṛṣṇarāja, he is to be identified with Upendra. Mr. Hall's view is supported by Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Bühler, and Mr. Burgess.¹

Upendra began his rule between the years 808 and 812 A. D. We may, for the sake of convenience, provisionally take it as 809-810 A. D. A period of 162 years had elapsed between this date and the year of the accession of Vākpati-Muñja (971-972 A. D.). This gives approximately a period of 27 years reign to each generation from Upendra to Siyaka II. Following this, Upendra's reign came to a close in 837 A. D.

The Udayapur Praśasti of the rulers of Malwa informs us that Upendra was followed by Vairisimha I, Siyaka I, and Vākpati I.² Padmagupta, though he does not expressly mention the names of Vairisimha I, and Siyaka I, confirms the fact of their succession by stating that between Upendra and Vākpati I there came a number of rulers.³

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 225 ; I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 167

2 E. I., Vol. I, p. 225.

3 Tasmin gate narendreṣu tadanyeṣu gateṣu ca |

Tatra Vākpatirājākhyah pārthivendur ajāyata ||

(Navaś°, sarga XI, v. 80.)

Mr. C. V. Vaidya denies the succession of Vairisimha I, Siyaka I, and Vākpati I, and remarks that the Udayapur Praśasti's account regarding those three kings is conventional (History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. II, p. 123). I do not find any ground in support of this assertion. Padmagupta, who is one of the earliest authorities to give the history of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa, tells us that Vairisimha II's father was Vākpati I. He further states, as we have already seen, that between Vākpati I and Upendra there came a number of other rulers. In these circumstances it cannot be asserted that the Udayapur Praśasti's account regarding the immediate successors of Upendra is altogether conventional. It should not be deemed absurd that Vairisimha I, Siyaka I, and Vākpati I were followed

VAIRISIMHA I.

Vairisimha I succeeded to the throne, after the close of his father's reign, about the year 836-7 A. D. His younger brother, Ḍambarasimha, received the province of Vāgaḍa, probably from him, and ruled there as a feudatory of the House of Malwa.¹ Nothing in particular is known to us about the military exploits of this new king. The poet describes how he erected pillars of victory in different parts of the earth and levied taxes from a large number of kings who were very favourably disposed towards him on account of his divine qualities.² On the strength of this verse some scholars are inclined to attribute to him the erection of the iron pillar at Dhārā.³ He was succeeded by Sīyaka I about 863 A. D.

SĪYAKA I.

Our knowledge concerning the reign of this king is also very meagre. He is described as a great conqueror

by another set of kings bearing similar names in the same order. Several inscriptions furnish us with the following genealogical table of the Kalacuri rulers of Ratanpur, where the same sort of repetition is to be noticed.

- (a) Ratnarāja (or Ratneśa),
- (b) Pṛthvīśa (or Pṛthvīdeva¹,
- (c) Jājalla,
- (d) Ratnadeva,
- (e) Pṛthvīdeva,
- (f) Jājalladeva,
- (g) Ratnadeva,
- (h) Pṛthvīdeva.

(E. I., Vol. I, p. 46)

¹ E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 296.

² Ibid., Vol. I, p. 237.

³ A. S. I., 1902-3, p. 207.

and is said to have slain a host of his enemies.¹ His successor was Vākpati I, who probably ascended the throne about the year 890-91 A. D.

VĀKPATI I.

Verse 10 of the Udayapur Praśasti² describes this chief as "a sun for (those) water-lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti." This indirectly proves his supreme control over that country. He is compared with Śatamakha (Indra)³ for his military valour, and his armies are said to have drunk the waters of Gaṅgā and of the ocean. This is no doubt a panegyric of the poet.

VAIRISIMHA II.

Vākpati's rule seems to have come to a close about the year 917-18 A. D., when the charge of the government was assumed by his son Vairisimha II, who was also known by the name of Vajrāṭa.⁴

Our information regarding the military exploits of these five Paramāra rulers, from Upendra to Vairisimha II, is very scanty. This is because they still held their authority as subordinates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan, and did not possess resources enough to wage aggressive war against the powerful neighbouring chiefs. In fact, the rise of the Paramāras entirely depended upon the decline and downfall of the Gurjara-Pratihāra power in the north and of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa suzerainty in the south. In the following paragraphs I shall try to show how, passing through many adversities, they

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 237, v. 9.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., v. II.

ultimately succeeded in throwing off the yoke of subordination. It was probably during the early part of the reign of Vairisimha II that the Paramāra rule suffered an eclipse at the hand of the Pratihāras of Kanauj.

The Pratihāra Rāmabhadra, son of Nāgabhaṭa II, was weak and destitute of military valour.¹ He was succeeded by Bhoja, who was famous for his skill in the art of war. This monarch distinguished himself by numerous conquests, and extended the boundary of his realm far and wide. In the south-west the Cālukyas of Saurāṣṭra seem to have acknowledged his sway.² But his attempt to push his arms further met with signal failure. He could not force his way into the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom, which extended up to Malwa and Lāṭa on the north. He was defeated by Dhruva II, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief of Lāṭa, some time before 867 A. D.³ That Malwa still formed a part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominion is shown by several epigraphic records. The Nilgund inscription,⁴ dated 866 A. D., of the reign of Amoghavarṣa, reports that the king was worshipped by the lord of Malwa. On the eve of his march against the kingdom of Kanauj, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III (914 A. D.) halted at Ujjain and paid his devotions to the temple of Mahākāla.⁵ So long as Indra III was on the throne of the Deccan, the Pratihāras of Kanauj could not gain much advantage in the south.⁶ But his death, shortly before 918 A. D., was followed by anarchy in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom. Govinda IV contrived to put his own elder brother, the successor of Indra III, to death, and usurped the

1 J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 47.

2 E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.

3 I. A., Vol. XII, p. 181.

4 E. I., Vol. VI, p. 102.

5 Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 29-30.

6 J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 66.

throne.¹ He was tyrannical, and during his reign lawlessness and disorder convulsed the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire.² The Pratihāra government, which only a few years back had suffered a rude shock at the hand of Indra III,³ did not let the changed situation in the Deccan pass unnoticed. The Pratihāra Bhoja I was followed by Mahendrapāla I and Bhoja II. Mahipāla, who ruled between 914 and 946 A. D., succeeded Bhoja II.⁴ He was a great warrior. The recent outbreak of the revolution in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire offered him free scope for the display of his military talents. His armies in their triumphant march moved from country to country. Rājasēkhara, the court poet of Mahipāla, gives the following vivid description of his master's military achievements, with a touch of poetic inspiration.⁵

“Of that lineage was born the glorious Mahipāladeva, who has bowed down the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of the Muralas, who has caused the Mekalas to suppurate, who has driven the Kalingas before him in war ; who has spoilt the pastime of (the king who is) the moon of the Keralas ; who has conquered the Kulūṭas ; who is a very axe to the Kuntalas ; and who by violence has appropriated the fortunes of the Ramaṭhas.”

Most of the countries described here bordered the Pratihāra empire, and Dr. R. C. Majumdar has ably shown that there is no valid reason to regard the above description merely as a poetic hyperbole.⁶ Kuntala was the name of the country south of the Narmada, over which the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ruled. Mahipāla's war with the

1 E. I., Vol. VII, p. 34.

2 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 288.

3 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 28.

4 J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 75.

5 Ibid., Vol. X, p. 63.

6 Ibid., p. 64 ff.

Kuntalas is also narrated by Pampābhārata.¹ He seems to have conquered and annexed the country of Malwa just about this time.

The Kalacuris of Gorakhpur District (United Provinces) were evidently feudatories of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. Guṇāmbodhi, a prince of this family, became a favourite of Bhoja (934-990 A. D.), and obtained land from him.² He helped his suzerain with men and arms in his conquest of Bengal.³ His successor was Ullabha, who was again followed by Bhāmāna. The last-mentioned king was apparently a contemporary of Mahipāla, the king of Kanauj (914-931, A. D.), who was the grand-son of Bhoja. It is known from the Kahla plate that he distinguished himself by the conquest of Dhārā.⁴ As he was a petty local ruler under the Pratihāras of Kanauj, it was certainly impossible for him to undertake, on his own account, any military expedition against such a distant country as Malwa. In all likelihood he accompanied his overlord Mahipāla on his southern march and shared that victory with him. It settles one important fact that Malwa was not annexed to the kingdom of Kanauj before this time. But that the Pratihāras asserted their supremacy over it about this period admits of no doubt. The Partabgarh inscription,⁵ dated 946 A. D., of the reign of Mahendrapāla II, who was the son and successor of Mahipāla, records that in the year 946 A. D., Mādhava was the great feudatory lord and governor of Ujjain, and

1 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 380.

2 E. I., Vol. VII, p. 89, v. 9. Kahla plate of Sodha Deva, vs. 5, 11, 34.

3 Ibid.; J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 52.

4nija-vijayi-pa(d-o)ddhāra-Dhārāvanīśa-(hr̥ṣya)t-senā-jaya-śrī-haṭha-haraṇa-kalā-dhāma Bhāmānadevaḥ || v. 13.

5 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 176

Śrīsarman, who was a commander-in-chief, was carrying on the affairs of state at Maṇḍapikā (modern Mandu, in the Dhar State, C. I.), under this Pratihāra monarch. Mādhava, having worshipped the god Mahākālā at Ujjain, on the Mīna-Saṃkrānti day, granted the village of Dhārā-padrakā for the maintenance of the temple of Indrāditya-deva at Ghoṇṭa-varṣikā. This indubitably proves the supreme control of the Pratihāras of Kanauj over Malwa at this period. But this state of things did not long continue. Mahīpāla was the last great king of his dynasty. Within a very short time after the accession of his son, Mahendrapāla II, the vast Pratihāra empire began to disintegrate. It may be noted here that the dismemberment of the two great imperial dynasties of India, *viz.*, the Pratihāra and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, began about the same time, in the middle of the tenth century A. D. This offered a golden opportunity to the other subsidiary ruling families to take the best advantage of it. Yaśovarman, the Candella king of Bundelkhand (925-50 A. D.), seems to have been the first among them to assail the Pratihāra empire.¹ He wrested from it the greater portion of its southern territories. Some time before 953 A. D., the Candella kingdom is found to extend² from the river Jumna on the north to the frontiers of Cedi on the south, and from Kalinjar on the east or north-east to Gopādri or the modern Gwalior on the north-west. Such an advance illustrates only too clearly the disastrous condition of the Pratihāra government. The empire which once stretched up to the river Narmada on the south had now been pushed back so far that it was bordered by Gwalior.

¹ E. I., Vol. I, p. 132, v. 23

² Ibid., p. 134, v. 45.

During this period of turmoil and disorder the dethroned Paramāra Vairisimha II, who seems to have been living in exile in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom, did not remain inactive. He availed himself of the situation to the best of his ability, and spared no pains to revive the Paramāra rule in Malwa. He seems to have received forces from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta, with which he fell upon the viceroy of Mahendrapāla II and blotted out the last vestige of Pratihāra supremacy by his total expulsion. Verse 11 of the Udayapur Prasasti¹ seems to give a hint to that effect. It records that² "By that king (Vairisimha II) the famous Dhārā was indicated, when he slew the crowd of his enemies with the edge of his sword." Mr. Buhler remarks³ that this expression means, "smiting the foe with the edge of his sword the king indicated that Dhārā belonged to him."

Thus Paramāra rule was re-established in Malwa presumably with the help of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas. From this time forward its outlook was completely changed, and its angle of perspective differently shaped. The old ruling families were fast vanishing from the political platform, yielding place to a new set. The Paramāras, as we shall see below, seized every opportunity to increase their power.

SĪYAKA II.

Vairisimha II died soon after the reconquest of Malwa. He was succeeded by his son Sīyaka, some

¹ E. I., Vol. I, p. 235.

² Ibid.—Jātas tasmād Vairisimho 'nyanāmnā loko brūte [Vajraṭa] svāminam yaṃ ।

Śātror vvargaṃ dhārayāser nnihatya Śrīmad-Dhārā sūcitā yena rājñā ॥

³ Ibid., footnote 86.

time before 949 A.D., who in the early years of his reign assumed the titles of Mahārājādhirājapati and mahāmaṇḍalika-cuḍāmaṇi.¹ Śīyaka was also known as Harṣa.² It is now beyond all dispute that Śīyaka and Harṣa were names of one and the same king, as both are described in the epigraphic records as the father of Sindhurāja.³ The Udayapur Prāsasti and the Arthuna inscription mention him as Harṣa,⁴ and Merutunga calls him by the name Siṃhadantabhāṭa.⁵ But in the rest of the ancient records the king is introduced to us as Śīyaka. Mr. Buhler thinks⁶ that the complete name of the king was probably Harṣasiṃha, both parts of which were used as abbreviations. He further remarks that "The form Śīyaka is a half Prakritic corruption of Siṃhaka, for in modern Gujarati and other dialects the termination Siṃha becomes in names not only Siṃha or Singh, but very commonly Si which is immediately derived from the Prakrit Siha. Thus Amarsi is used instead of Amarasiṃha, etc." I beg to differ from the learned scholar on this point. Śīyaka was the name of an early Paramāra chief, and it follows from this fact that it can stand by itself as a proper name.

Two inscriptions of Śīyaka's reign have recently been discovered.

1 E. I., Vol. XIX, P. 242. The combination of the titles Mahāmaṇḍalika-cuḍāmaṇi and Mahārājādhirājapati is unusual. But it is not very uncommon in ancient Indian records. In the Kayadra inscription of Dhārāvārṣa, the king is called Mahārājādhirāja Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara.

(Vide post Chapter IX.)

2 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 299, v. 19.

3 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 227; I. A., Vol. VI., pp. 51, 53.

4 E. I., Vol. I, p. 227; Vol. XIV, p. 299, v. 19.

5 Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 30.

6 E. I., Vol. I, p. 225.

(a) The Harsola grant,¹ dated V. S. 1005, Māgha = 949 A. D., January, records that Śīyaka from his camp on the bank of the Mahī river, having worshipped the god Śivanātha, granted the two villages of Kumbhārotaka and Śihakā in the Mohaḍavāsaka-*viṣaya* respectively to Lallopādhyaya, son of Govardhana, and to his son Nīnā Dikṣita, who were inhabitants of Ānandapura.

Of the localities mentioned above, Mohaḍavāsaka is to be identified with the modern village of Mohdasa, in the Prantej taluk, Ahmedabad District, and Kumbhārotaka and Śihakā with Kamrod and Sika near Modasa. The river Mahī, which flows into the Gulf of Cambay, still retains its ancient name. Ānandapura is the modern Vadnagar, in the Baroda State.

(b) The second record² is an odd copper plate, the first part of which is lost. It is evidently a land grant, containing the sign manual of Śrī-Śīyaka, which was issued on the fifteenth day of the dark half of the year Sam 1026 = 969 A.D., October. The record was executed by the dāpaka Kaṇhapaika by order of the king.

WAR WITH THE CĀLUKYAS OF SAURĀṢṬRA.

Śīyaka was a great general and an able soldier. He found an open field for the display of his warlike activities, and began to frame extensive schemes for conquest. The first object of his attack seems to have been the Cālukyas of Saurāṣṭramanḍala. The princes of this family had been ruling their territory as vassals of the Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj.³ Bāhukadhavala, an early ruler of the dynasty, appears to

¹ E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 236.

² Ibid., p. 177.

³ Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 1 ff.

have helped Nāgabhaṭa II in his war against the Pālas of Bengal and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan.¹ Avani-varman II, who was also called Yoga, was his great-grandson.² He probably offered strong opposition to Vairisimha II in his war against the Pratihāras, and subsequently intrigued for the revival of the Pratihāra supremacy in Malwa. This perhaps led Śīyaka to launch a campaign against his western neighbour. On this occasion his task was greatly facilitated when the ruler of Khedakamaṇḍala (modern Kaira, in Gujarat), a vassal of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas,³ co-operated with him. The Harsola inscription purports to say that Yogarāja was completely defeated.⁴ Śīyaka, on his way back from that campaign, halted on the bank of the Maḥī, and made, as we have said, a grant of land in favour of two Brahmins.⁵

WAR WITH THE HŪṆAS.

Some time afterwards Śīyaka launched campaign against a Hūṇa prince whose territory seems to have

1 J. Dep. L., Vol. X, pp. 40, 42.

2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 2.

3 Ibid., Vol. VII, P. 45.

4 Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 242, lines 9 and 13.

5 In the 10th century A. D., no king of the name of Yogarāja is known to have ruled in the western part of India, except the Cālukya chief mentioned above. The earliest known date of this prince is 899 A. D. (E. I., Vol. IX, p. 2), and the latest known date of his immediate predecessor is 893 A. D. (Ibid., p. 1.). I am inclined to think that it was this chief who sustained a defeat at the hand of Śīyaka. If this proves to be true, he must have ruled for at least half a century, which is not at all an absurd length. The reigns of the Bengal king, Nārāyaṇapāla, (Bāṅglār Itihās, by R. D. Banerji, Vol. I, p. 225, (2nd ed.)) the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa, (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 401 ff.) and the Caulukya Bhīma II, (Ibid., Pt. I, p. 197), each covered more than fifty years.

40 HISTORY OF THE PARAMĀRA DYNASTY

been to the north-west of Malwa.' Balavarman, father of Yogarāja of Saurāṣṭra, defeated and killed the Hūṇa prince Jajjapa in battle.² The Navasāhasāṅka-carita tells us that Siyaka, having slaughtered the Hūṇa princes, turned their harem into a dwelling-place for the widows.³ The Hūṇa prince who was defeated by him seems to have been a successor of Jajjapa. The war with the Hūṇas, however, did not come to a close until the end of the tenth century A. D.

WAR WITH THE CANDELLAS.

About this time the Candellas of Jejākabhukti extended their territory up to Bhilsa on the west. The Khajuraho inscription, dated 954 A. D., registers⁴ the fact that at this time the Candella kingdom extended as far as Bhāsvat (Bhilsa), which was situated on the bank of the river Mālava. Siyaka's bid for fortune on the west seems to have soon involved him in a war with the Candellas. But his progress was successfully retarded by the latter. The Candella Yaśovarman (925-950 A. D.) is described in the Khajuraho inscription⁵ as "a God of Death to the Mālavas."

WAR WITH THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS OF MĀNYAKHETA.

In the third quarter of the tenth century A. D., the dismemberment of the Pratihāra empire was all but complete. It was a transitional period in the history of

1 Navas°, Sarga XI, v. 90.

2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 8, v. 17

3 Akaṅkanam akeyūram anūpuram amekhalam |

Hūṇavarodham vaidhavya-dīkṣa-dānam vyadhata yaḥ ||

(Sarga XI, v. 90)

4 E. I., Vol. I, p. 134, v. 45.

5 Ibid., p. 126, v. 23-Kālavān Mālavānām.

ancient India. The old ruling dynasties were fast declining in power, and making room for others to come forward and to play the imperial rôle. We have noticed the change in attitude of the Candella government. The Kacchapaghâtas firmly established themselves in Gwalior and Dubkund, on the north of Malwa.¹ A Caulukya family under Mûlarâja I, having overthrown the old Cavaḍa government, established its sovereignty at Anhilwar (modern Patan, in Baroda).² In the south, the influence of the Râṣtrakûṭa power was on the wane, and as it were waiting for the final day of its destruction. The critical consideration of this political situation led Siyaka to try his strength in the south. His assumption of the titles of Mahârâjâdhirâjapati and Mahāmṇḍalika cuḍāmaṇi suggests that he, shortly after his accession to the throne, was trying to disown the suzerainty of the Râṣtrakûṭas. Now he gave up all projects for renewing hostilities on the north, east, and west, and directed his arms for the first time against the Râṣtrakûṭa empire. In this bold enterprise he was assisted by his feudatory Kaṅka of Vagada. The Râṣtrakûṭa Khottiga (971 A. D.), who was the brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa III (945-956 A. D.), was at that time on the throne of the Deccan.³ He hurried his army towards Malwah in order to oppose the Paramâras. A fierce battle took place on the bank of the Narmada, at a place called Kalighaṭṭa,⁴ in which Kaṅka died fighting bravely, though not before he had broken down the barrier of the Râṣtrakûṭa army.⁵ Khottiga sustained a heavy defeat in this encounter, and retreated to his capital. But Siyaka

1 E. I., Vol. II, p. 232; I. A., Vol. XV, p. 202.

2 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 157.

3 Ibid., Pt. II, p. 422.

4 A. S. I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 19.

5 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 296; A. S. I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 19.

seems to have been bent on conquering the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire. He pursued the vanquished monarch and reached the gates of Mānyakheta. Khottiga could not repel the invading forces of Malwa, and surrendered his capital to their mercy. The city was apparently sacked by the victors. Dhanapāla, in the concluding verses of his Pāiyalacchī, states that he completed this work ' "when one thousand years of the Vikrama era and twenty-nine besides had passed, and at the time when Mānyakheda (or Mānyakheta) was plundered in consequence of an attack by the lord of Mālava."

The date expressed here in the Vikrama era corresponds to 971-2 A. D. It has been noticed that at this time Khottiga was on the throne of Mānyakheta. The Malwa king referred to above was, in all probability, Śīyaka, as the Udayapur Prasaṣti makes mention of his victory over Khottiga.² The Navasāhasaṅka-carita³ records his success over the lord of Rudrapāṭi, whom I am inclined to identify with this king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. But though the historic city of Mānyakheta was occupied and pillaged by the armies of Śīyaka, they could not conquer its main fort, where the royal residence was fixed. It was successfully defended by the western Gaṅga Mārasimha II. The Sravana Belgola epitaph states that ' "He (*i. e.*

¹ Edited by Buhler : Pāiyalacchī, Introduction, p. 6, vs. 276, 277, 278.

² Tasmād abhūd ari-nareśvara-saṃgha-sevanā-garjjad
-gajendra-rava-sundara-tūrya-nādaḥ. |
Śrī-Harṣa-deva iti Khottigadeva-Lakṣmīṇ jagrāha yo
yudhi nagāda-sama-pratāpaḥ ||
(E. I., Vol. I, p. 237, v. 12.)

³ Smita-jyotsnā-daridreṇa vāspādhyena mukhendunā |
Śaśamsur vijayaṃ yasya Rudrapāṭi-pati-strivah ||
(sarga XI, v, 89, Navas°). 4 E. I., Vol. V, p. 179,

Mārasimha II) by the strength of his arms (protected) the encampment of the emperor, when it was located at the city of Mānyakheta."

This Gaṅga prince was a contemporary of both Siyaka and Khottiga, as he began his reign in 963-4 A.D., and ended it between 973-4 A. D.¹ Some scholars are of the opinion that the passage in question of the above record may be taken to refer to the struggle that took place between the Rāṣtrakūṭa Kakka II and Tailapa II, the founder of the new Cālukya empire in the Deccan.² But this view loses much of its strength if the whole situation is taken into consideration. It is an evident fact that Tailapa's victory was immediately followed by the final extinction of the Rāṣtrakūṭa sovereignty and the establishment of a new Cālukya empire in the Deccan. In view of this, Siyaka's success cannot be regarded as more than temporary. Hence Mārasimha's boast of protecting the encampment of Mānyakheta gains much more justification, if it relates to the conflict between Siyaka and Khottiga.

A critical review of all these courses of events brings home to us the fact that the Paramāras were mainly instrumental in working out the destruction of the mighty Rāṣtrakūṭa empire. They inflicted a crushing defeat upon Khottiga on the banks of the Narmada, overran his kingdom, and finally pillaged and sacked the imperial city of Mānyakheta. This undoubtedly pressed heavily upon the military resources of the Rāṣtrakūṭas, which made it easier for Tailapa II to gain the throne of the Deccan by the annihilation of their power. At present, it is very difficult to determine precisely how much Siyaka profited by his

¹ E. I., Vol. V, p. 179.

² Ibid., p. 170, footnote 3.

southern expedition. During the reign of his son Vākpati and of his grand-son Bhoja, the upper courses of the Godavari formed the southern boundary of the Paramāra kingdom.¹ It is highly probable that the extension of the Paramāra kingdom up to that limit was due to Siyaka.

Siyaka was the real founder of the Paramāra kingdom, and the first imperial ruler of his family. From the position of a petty local chief, he succeeded by his ingenuity and military skill in occupying a place among the foremost rulers of his age. He left behind him a vast empire which extended on the north up to the Banswara State ;² on the east to Bhilsa ;³ on the south to the Godavari ; and on the west up to the Mahi.⁴ Shortly after his return from the southern expedition, he seems to have abdicated his throne in favour of his son Vākpatirāja. Padmagupta tells us that in the latter part of his reign the king adopted the life of an ascetic, "clothed himself in the grass-robe of a royal sage," and devoted himself exclusively to the practice of austerities.⁵ Vadajā was the name of his queen.⁶ Besides Vākpati he had another son, Sindhurāja. He closed his reign some time between the years 970 and 973 A. D.

1 Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 33 ; E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 69.

2 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 295

3 This is inferred from the Khajuraho inscription (E. I., Vol. I, p. 134, v. 45), which tells us that in the year 954 A. D., Bhāsvat, or Bhilsa, on the bank of the river of Mālava was the southern limit of the Candella kingdom.

4 E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 236.

5 Vaśīkṛtākṣamālo yaḥ kṣamām atyāyatām dadhan |

Rājāsramam alaṃcakre rājaraṣiḥ kuśa-cīvaraḥ ||

(Navas., Sarga XI, v. 88.)

6 Ibid., v. 86.

CHAPTER III.

VĀKPATI II AND SINDHURĀJA

VĀKPATI II.

Two inscriptions of Vākpati's reign have been discovered.

The first¹ is dated V. S. 1031=974 A. D., and was issued from the royal residence at Ujjain. There was a Brahman philosopher named Vasantācārya, son of Dhanikapāṇḍita, who was originally an inhabitant of Ahicchatra. King Vākpatirāja, who is described as paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja, having bathed in the waters of the Siva lake, and worshipped the Lord of Everything, granted this Brahman philosopher the Tadaṛ² by name Pipparikā for the spiritual merit of his parents as well as of himself. The village was situated on the bank of the Narmada, in the northern part of the bhoga of Gardabhapaṇīya. It was bounded on the north by a small stream flowing into the ditch belonging to Oikhi-llikā; on the east by Agāravāhalā; on the south by the Piśāca-tīrtha, and on the west by the Gardabha river. The record was executed by Kaṇhapāika, who is probably the same person as is mentioned in the grant of Śīyaka, dated 969 A. D.³

The second inscription⁴ is dated V. S. 1036=979 A. D. It was issued from the royal camp at Bhagavat-pura, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Its object is to record that the king Vākpatirāja, at the request

1 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 51.

2 Dr. Hall reads this as Vaḍār.

3 E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 236.

4 I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 160.

of Āsint, the wife of his Mahāsāadhanika Mahāika, granted the village of Sembalapuraka, attached to the Tiṇisapadra-Twelve, with all the incomes accruing to it, to meet the expenses of the worship of the Bhāṭṭārikā, the glorious Bhāṭṭeśvari at Ujjayani, and for the upkeep of her temple. The village, granted, was at that time held by the above mentioned Mahāika. The inscription was written in the camp of Guṇapura, and the order was executed by Rudrāditya.

Of the places mentioned above, Ahicchatra is to be identified with the modern Adikot near Ramnagar in Rohilkhand. Cikhilikā is the modern Chikalda, now a tract of land in the territory of Holkar. The Piśācatīrtha retains to this day its ancient name. Mr. N. Janardana identifies the Gardabha river with the modern Khaja, now in the jurisdiction of the Raja of Dhar.¹ Guṇapura is probably the modern Godurpura, on the south bank of the Narmada. The rest of the localities cannot now be identified.

Mr. Venkayya suggests that Vākpatirāja mentioned in the Puṣkar inscription was probably the same person as Vākpati-Muñja.²

Vākpati bore the appellations of Śrīvallabha and Prṥhivīvallabha,³ which were the family epithets (birudas) of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan.⁴ Amoghavarṣa,⁵ Utpala, and Muñja were his other names. In the Nagpur praśasti⁶ he is described as Muñja, and in the rest of the inscriptions of his dynasty he is mentioned as

1 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 50.

2 A. S. I., 1909-10, p. 127.

3 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 51 ; Vol. XIV, p. 160.

4 E. I., Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 2.

5 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 51.

6 E. I., Vol II, p. 184, v. 23.

Vākpati. That Vākpati and Muñja were names of one and the same king admits of no doubt. King Arjunavarman, in his commentary on Amaruśataka, known as Rasikasamjivini, states that Vākpatirāja, otherwise known as Muñja, was one of his predecessors.¹ Similarly, there is ample evidence to prove his identity with the king Utpala. In the Navasāhasāṅka-carita, in one place Vākpati is spoken of as the elder brother of Sindhurāja, who followed him (on the throne) after his death.² But in another place,³ where the history of the early Paramāra kings of Malwa is narrated, Sindhurāja is reported to have mounted the throne of Utpalarāja. Here the absolute omission of the name, Vākpatirāja, by the poet proves the identity of the two. This is further confirmed by the fact that the authorship of a verse ascribed to Utpalarāja by the Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra is attributed to Vākpatirāja by Vallabhadeva.⁴

Merutuṅga tells an interesting story⁵ in connection with the birth and early life of Vākpati. Simhadanta-bhata (*i.e.* Śiṅka) was for a long time without any child. Muñja was not, as a matter of fact, his own son. Once while the king was on his royal circuit, he came across a new-born child in a thicket of *muñja* grass, whom he immediately picked up lovingly in his arms. He brought him up and intended to make him his successor. The child was given the name Muñja, in memory of his discovery in the grass of that name. Some time later a son was born to the king, who was called Sindhula (*i.e.* Sindhurāja). This unexpected event,

1 "Asmatpūrvajasya Vākpatirājāparanāmano Muñjadevasya."

2 Sarga I, vv. 6-7

3 Sarga XI, vv. 92, 101.

4 Subhāṣitāvali, 3413.

5 Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 30.

however, did not shake the king's affection for Muñja, who made a great impression on his mind by his princely qualities. Once he paid a surprise visit to the residence of Muñja, when the latter was in his bedchamber with his wife. The unexpected arrival of the king threw Muñja into confusion. He had no opportunity to get his wife out of the room, and in his excessive shyness he hid her behind a sofa to avoid the notice of the king, who came straight into the room, and told him at once the object of his visit. He related the whole story of his birth and adoption, and spoke of his present desire to make him finally his successor to the throne. Last of all he emphasised his wish that Muñja should be friendly and affectionate towards his younger brother, Sindhurāja, and then left the palace. Shortly afterwards the coronation-ceremony of Muñja was celebrated amidst great joy and festivity. It is said that subsequently Muñja put his wife to death, lest she should carelessly betray the secret of his birth.

At present we have no evidence to corroborate the above story. It may be that Siyaka, finding himself childless in the early years of his life, adopted Muñja as heir to his throne, and confirmed the arrangement even when some time after a son was born to him.

With the accession of Vākpati, a new era dawned upon Malwa. A new spirit breathed through every sphere of life, and the country began to grow in wealth and riches. The consolidation of the empire was complete, and the government was based on a strong foundation. Henceforward the Paramāra kings did not limit their activities merely to the undertaking of military expeditions for conquest, but also directed their attention to the cultural development and social welfare of their subjects. It will be seen below how, under powerful monarchy, the people of Malwa grew

into a strong nation. Rudrāditya was the king's minister,¹ and Mahāika,² and the poet Dhanika³ were respectively Mahāsāadhanika and Mahāsādhyapāla of his government.

Having ascended the throne of Malwa, Vākpati seems to have directed his energy, in the first place, to the expansion of his kingdom. His territory was surrounded by a number of powerful ruling dynasties. He now launched a series of campaigns against them.

WAR WITH THE KALACURIS.

The crowning achievement of Vākpati was his victory over the Kalacuris who ruled over the northern part of the Central Provinces. The seat of their government was established at Tripurī. Their king Yuvarāja II, who ruled from about 975 to 1000 A. D., was a contemporary of Vākpati. His father Lakṣmaṇa entered into an alliance with Tailapa II by giving him his daughter Bonthādevī in marriage.⁴ He also increased the prosperity of his kingdom by successful military conquests. Having defeated the lord of Kosala, he despoiled him of a very costly effigy of Kālīya, and when in the course of his military expeditions he reached the western shore of the sea, he earned spiritual merit by dedicating that image in the temple of Someśvara.⁵ Besides Yuvarāja II, he had another son, Śaṃkaragaṇa, who was his immediate successor on the throne, being later followed by Yuvarāja II. These two royal

¹ Prabandhaç., p. 33.

² I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 160.

³ H. H. Wilson, "Select Specimens of the Theater of the Hindus," 1835, p. XX.

⁴ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 296.

⁵ E. I., Vol. I, p. 266, v. 62.

brothers appear to have been lacking in that military skill which had distinguished their father. As regards Yuvarāja II, the panegyrists seem to delight in extolling only his religious activities, though some customary verses are offered to demonstrate his military achievements.¹

It was when the Kalacuri government was in the hands of this weak ruler that Vākpati marched against Cedi, and Yuvarāja, although he opposed him with all his armies, was signally defeated; many of his officers were killed on the battlefield, and the whole of his kingdom lay prostrate before the Paramāras. Vākpati next directed his victorious troops towards Tripurī, the capital of the Kalacuris, and within a short time captured that city. The Udayapur praśasti tells us that Vākpati defeated Yuvarāja in battle, slaughtered his generals, and established his supremacy in Tripurī.² This is corroborated in general by the Kauthem grant³ of the Cālukya Vikramāditya V, in which it is stated that Utpala destroyed the power of the Caidyas, *i. e.* the people of Cedi.

WARS WITH THE GUHILAS AND THE CĀHAMĀNAS.

Vākpati's achievements in the north were also epoch-making. The Guhilas of Medāpaṭa, or Mewar, were the first object of his attack in that direction. In the last quarter of the tenth century A. D., they were governed by their king Saktikumāra (977 A. D.), who was the son

¹ E. I., Vol. I, p. 269.

² Yuvarājam vijityājau hatvā tad-vāhinī-patīn |

Khadgam ūrdhvīkṛtaṃ yena Tripuryām vijigīṣuṇā ||

(E. I., Vol. I, p. 235., v. 15.)

³ I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, lines 41-42.

and successor of Naravāhana.¹ Vākpati probably came into conflict with this prince, and inflicted a severe defeat upon him. He destroyed his elephant forces, plundered Āghāṭa (modern Ahar, near the Udaipur Railway Station), the capital of Mewar, and forced him to flee from his kingdom. In this predicament the Guhila prince, having been deprived of his throne, took shelter under the Rāṣtrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikunḍī.² This success tempted Vākpati to push his arms further west, and soon brought him into conflict with the Cāhamānas of Marwar. The Cāhamānas, under the rule of their king Śobhita, had extended the boundaries of their kingdom up to Mount Abu,³ by the forcible extirpation of its ruling chief.⁴ About this time Śobhita's successor, Balirāja, was on the throne of Marwar. Vākpati seems

1 E. I., Vol. VIII, App. I, p. 13.

2 Dha(va)lo vasudhā-vyāpī caṁdrād iva caṁdrikā-nikaraḥ ||
bhaṁktv-Āghāṭam ghaṭābhiḥ prakāṣam iva madanī Medapāṭe
bhaṭānām janye rājanya-janye janayati janatājaṁ raṇaṁ
Muṇjarāje (Śrī)* māṇe (pra)ṇaṣṭe hariṇa iva bhiyā Gūrjjareṣe
vinaṣṭe tat-sainyānām sa(śa)raṇyo harir iva śaraṇe yaḥ surāṇām
va(ba)bhūva ||

(Bijapur inscription of Dhavala of Hastikunḍī, vv. 9, 10. E. I., Vol. X, p. 20. (Bijapur lies on the route from Udaipur to Sirohi, near Mount Abu.)

3 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 75, v. 7.

4 In the Sevadi copper-plates of the Cāhamāna Ratnapāla, dated Sam 1176, Śobhita or Śohita is designated as the lord of Dhārā (E. I., Vol. XI, p. 309, v. 5). I think it is an engraver's mistake for "Thārā", which was the most celebrated city in Marwar during the latter part of the 12th century A. D. Professor Kielhorn suggests that it was the capital of that country. The Moharāja-parājaya, an allegorical play, was first acted at Thārāpadra-pura, during the reign of the Gujarat king Ajayapāla (1172-1176 A. D.).

first to have wrested from him Mount Abu¹ and the southern part of his dominion as far as Kiraḍu, which lies sixteen miles north-west of Balmer, in the Jodhpur State. The Kauthem grant of the Cālukya Vikramāditya V records that, at the approach of Utpala, the people of Marwar trembled.² A stray verse of Padmagupta, probably composed shortly after the death of Vākpati, tells us that the king's fame still caused the pearls to dance in the necklaces of the women of Marwar, where his servant got a strong footing.³

Vākpati now divided this newly conquered territory among the princes of the royal family of Dhārā. He established his son, Aranyarāja, in the province of Arbuda or Abu, set up his other son, Candana, in Jalor, and entrusted to his nephew, Dūsala, the government of Bhinmal, whose authority extended up to Balmer on the west.⁴ Having thus secured a strong footing, he seems

"Yad adya Maru-maṇḍala-Kamalā-mukha-maṇḍana-karpūra-patr-āṅkura-Thārāpadrapura-pariṣkāra-Kumāra-vihāra-kroḍalaṅkāra-Śrī-vīra-Jīneśvara-yātrā-mahotsava-prasaṅga-saṅga-tam." (Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-81, by Prof. Kielhorn, p. 33.)

1 There is no direct evidence to prove that Vākpati ever conquered Mount Abu. But his conquests of Mewar and Marwar imply the conquest of Abu, which lies between them.

2 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, lines 41-42.

3 Tatra sthitaṁ sthitimatā varadeva daivād

bhṛtyena te cakita-cittam iyaṁtyahāni |

Utkampini stana-taṭe hariṇekṣaṇānāni

Hārān praṇartayati yatra bhavat-pratāpaḥ ||

"There (i. e. in Marwar), O good king (i. e. the king of Malwa), thy servant got a footing, as fate would have it, and there he remained so many days, curious at heart-there, where thy fame sets dancing the pearls on the quivering breasts of the deer-eyed women." (J. Bo. Br., Vol. XVI, p. 173.)

4 Ante, Chapter I, pp. 19 ff., *et vide* Chapters IX & X.

to have made an attempt to conquer Naddūla (Nadol), the capital of the Cāhamānas. But his rival Balirāja showed himself equal to the occasion and successfully defended his territory. The Sundha hill inscription tells us that he dispersed the army of Muñja.¹ This defeat of the Paramāras must have taken place some time after 982 A. D., a date which falls in the reign of Balirāja's grandfather, Lakṣmaṇa.²

WAR WITH THE HŪNAS.

About this period Vākpati seems to have led an expedition against the Hūnas and to have won a complete victory over them. The Kauthem grant tells us that Utpala destroyed the lives of the Hūnas.³

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

Some time after his conquest of Southern Marwar, Vākpati involved himself in a war with the Caulukyas of Gujarat.⁴ The Caulukya Mûlarāja I, who ruled from 941 to 997 A. D., was his contemporary.⁵ At the approach of the Paramāras, the Caulukya armies became terrified. Mûlarāja tried to oppose the advance of his enemies, but was miserably worsted in the resultant battle. Hard pressed by the victors, he fled with his

1Balirājadevo Yo Muñjarāja-va(ba)la-bhaṅgam acīkarat taṃ.....v. 7, E. I., Vol. IX, p. 75.

2 A. S. I., 1907-8, p. 228.

3 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, lines 41-42.

4 A verse of Padmagupta recounts that Vākpati established his authority over Marwar before his fight with the Gurjaras. J. Bo. Br., Vol. XVI, p. 173 ; I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, lines 41-42.

5 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 156 ; I. A., Vol. LVIII, p. 234.

family into the desert of Marwar. His armies, bereft of a leader and guide, knowing not what to do, sought refuge with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikunḍī. The Bijapur inscription tells us that when the power of the lord of the Gūrjaras was shattered as the result of his terrible fight with the king Muñja, his armies sought protection from Dhavala, who immediately gave them adequate shelter.¹ Now Mûlarāja's miseries knew no bounds. He passed his days in extreme hardship without food or drink. The forlorn condition to which the Gurjjara king was reduced, is very touchingly described by Padmagupta in the following verses :

"He neither eats food nor drinks water ; he keeps not the society of women ; he lies on the sand, puts from him all worldly pleasures, and courts the hottest sun. O Lion of the House of Mālava, it seems to me that this Gūrjjara king is doing penance in the forests of Marwar because he is eager to obtain an atom of that *prasāda* which is the dust of your feet."

"The silly Gūrjjara queen, as she wanders terror-stricken in the forest, ever and anon casts her eyes on her husband's sword, to see if there be no water there, for often in the past she has heard the bards say 'Great

¹ I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, lines 41-42. Vākpati died some time before 997 A. D. Hence the Gurjjara king mentioned in this verse was, in all probability, Mûlarāja I, who ruled from 941 to 997 A. D. The latest known inscription of his reign is dated 995 A. D. (E. I., Vol. X, p. 76.)

The expression "Gūrjjareṣe vinaṣṭe" referred to in the same verse must be taken to mean "the power of the lord of the Gūrjaras having been destroyed." It should not be considered as referring to the death of Mûlarāja I, who is reported to have been killed by the Cāhamāna Vighraharāja of Śākambharī: (Hammîramahākāvya. I. A., Vol. VIII. p. 59.)

King, the hosts of your foes have been engulfed in the battle stirred up by your sword's edge (or torrent).”¹

WAR AGAINST LĀṬA.

The conquest of Northern Gujarat offered a fresh inducement to Vākpati to continue his military policy in the west. He seems next to have turned his arms against the Lāṭa country, which comprised the land between the rivers Mahi and Tapti. Bārappa, a member of the Caulukya race and the general of the Karnaṭa king Tailapa II, was at that time its ruler.² Vākpati

¹ J. Bo. Br., Vol. XVI, pp. 173, 174.

- (i) āhāraṃ na karoti nāṃbu pibati straiṇaṃ na saṃsevate
 śete yat sikaṭāsu mukta-viśayaś caṇḍātapaṃ sevate ।
 Tvat-pād-ābja-rajah-prasāda-kaṇikā-lābhonmukhas tanmarau
 manye Mālava-siṃha Gūrjara-patis-tivraṃ tapas tapyate. ॥
- (ii) magnāni dviṣatāṃ kulāni samare tvat-khaḍga-dhārākule
 nāthāsminn-iti baṇdivāci bahuśo deva śrutāyāṃ purā ।
 mugdhā Gūrjara-bhūmipāla-mahiṣī pratyāśayā pāthasaḥ
 kāntāre cakitā vimuṇcati muhuḥ patyuh kṛpāne dṛsau. ॥
 (There seems to be a pun on Dhārā in the above verse.)

These verses of Parimala are quoted by the Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra in his “Aucityālaṅkāra”. As has been noticed very often, Padmagupta, whose other name was Parimala, was a court poet of Vākpati and his immediate successor Sindhurāja (Navas°, Sarga I, vv. 6, 7). The poet in the above verses, as quoted by Kṣemendra, intends to glorify the achievements of a Malwa king, who established his authority in Marwar and who was dead at the time when these verses were composed. Only Vākpati is known to have carried his victorious arms into Marwar. Having been pressed hard by his forces, Mûlarāja and his armies fled into the north, and took refuge with Dhavala, whose territory lay just on the eastern border of Marwar. In these circumstances the Malwa king referred to in these stray verses of Parimala is, in all likelihood, Vākpati.

² Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 159.

seems to have gone to war with him and to have won a decisive victory. The Udayapur praśasti records his victory over the people of Lāṭa.¹

These conquests made Vākpati master for some time of an extensive territory which comprised the Kalacuri kingdom on the east, Gujarat and Lāṭa on the west, and Mewar and southern Marwar on the north. But none of these newly conquered provinces, except southern Marwar, remained long under the control of the Paramāras. The Cauḷukyas and the Kalacuris regained their territories within a very short time, and ruled them quite independently. The cause of Vākpati's failure to establish his paramount sovereignty over them is not very far to seek. He required a large army and resources to maintain his authority over them, but he could not meet these demands, as he had to array all his forces on the southern frontier of his kingdom to keep in check the progress of the newly established Cālukya government.

The Udayapur praśasti² relates Vākpati's victory over the Coḷas and the Keralas. The contemporary Coḷa kings were Madhurāntaka-Uttamacōḷa (969-985 A. D.) and Rājārāja I (985-1012 A. D.).³ Nothing is known as to the name of the prince who was on the throne of the Cera country about this time.

WAR WITH THE CĀLUKYAS OF KARṆĀṬA.

The final overthrow of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire in the Deccan was almost co-eval with the accession of

¹ Karṇāṭa-Lāṭa-Kerala-Coḷa-śiro-ratna-rāgi-pada-kamalaḥ |
yaś ca praṇayi-gaṇārthita-dātā kalpadrumaprakhyāḥ ||

(E. I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 14.)

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., Vol. VIII, App II, p. 22.

Vākpati to the throne of Malwa. It has been noticed in the previous chapter, that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Khottiga succeeded with the help of Mārasimha, in driving Siyaka and his armies from Mānyakheta. But the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had hardly managed to recover from their losses before another formidable enemy, probably more terrible than the Paramāras, invaded the plains of the Deccan and threatened to overthrow their imperial government. The leader of these invading forces was Tailapa II, of the Cālukya race, of whom mention has occasionally been made before. Khottiga's successor, Karkarāja, could not stem the tide of this invasion, and eventually surrendered to him his capital and kingdom. After this there was a scramble for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire between the Paramāras and the Cālukyas. In fact, it was quite impossible for Tailapa to establish a permanent sovereignty in the Deccan until he could destroy the power of the ambitious Paramāras. This led to the beginning of a hard struggle for supremacy which continued for many generations between the two neighbouring dynasties. In one of his early attempts Vākpati was routed by the armies of Tailapa. The Nilgund inscription¹ of Tailapa's reign, dated Śaka 904=982 A. D., records that, "on hearing the name of whom (Tailapa II), which he acquired by the extirpation of all the armies of hostile kings, Coḍas, Andhras, Pāṇdyas and the king Utpala, bewildered, deliberate what to do, where to go, and where to dwell."

1 Yasya śrutvābhidhānaṃ sakala-ripu-nṛpānika-nirmmūlanotthaṃ
kiṃ (ka)rttavyaṃ kva yāma(h) kva ca vasatir iti vvyākulāś cin-
tayanti

CoḍĀndhrādhīśa-Pāṇdy-Otpala mahipatayo yena
cāmbhodhi-sīmā kṣmā rāmā svīkṛtā yohasati nṛpa-guṇair, ādirā-
jan Nalādīn ||

(E. I., Vol. IV, p. 206, lines 7, 8, 9)

The king Utpala referred to here, was none other than Vākpati. Besides this particular invasion, he seems to have launched several more campaigns against the Deccan, and in most cases to have achieved successful results. Merutuṅga tells us that, before the final termination of the war, Muñja defeated Tailapa six times.¹ The Udayapur praśasti also records his victory over the Karnaṭa army.² But all these preliminary victories gained by him, could not break down the strength of the Čālukyas. Now the glorious period of his reign had passed and the day of his fall was fast approaching. The sun which rose with a thousand beams in the east, now became pale just before its setting. In the last battle the glorious Muñja, a king of unprecedented valour, fell a captive in the hands of Tailapa, and having passed his days in endless miseries, suffered execution in the camp of his enemy. The tale of his extreme sufferings, which tradition handed on through the years to succeeding generations, at last excited emotion and pity in the heart of the Jaina teacher, Merutuṅga, who flourished in the 13th century A. D., and found appropriate expression in his 'Muñja-Prabandha'. He narrates that Muñja, being constantly harassed by the raiders of Tailapa, determined to invade his kingdom. His minister, Rudrāditya, who was then suffering from some ailment, tried to dissuade him from his proposed undertaking, but finding him sternly set upon his purpose, requested him not to cross the Godavari. In this connection he reminded the king of an old saying which predicted misfortune to any Malwa king who should ever cross that river in the course of a military excursion.

1 Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 33.

2 Ante p. 56, footnote 1.

His repeated success in warfare made Muñja overconfident of victory on this occasion also. He paid no heed to the good advice of his minister, and having marched a long way at last pitched his camp on the other side of the Godavari. When Rudrāditya heard that the king had thus deliberately flown in the face of his counsel, he ascended his funeral pyre, preferring death to the shock of seeing the frightful calamity he felt to be awaiting his beloved master. Shortly afterwards Muñja confronted his enemies, and a fierce battle ensued. But his destiny was sealed, and he paid the penalty for rejecting the warning of his far-sighted minister, by defeat and capture at the hands of Tailapa, who had gained his success by fraudulent methods.

Now his sufferings knew no bounds. He was tied with a rope, confined in a wooden cage, and thrown into the prison of Karnaṭa. His other ministers, who had arrived subsequently, dug a secret tunnel and made all arrangements for his escape; but, owing to his foolishness and indiscretion, their efforts on his behalf completely failed. During the short period of his incarceration, he fell in love with Mr̥ṇālavatī, a sister of Tailapa, who was detailed to attend him in prison, and to her he disclosed the arrangements made by his officers for his escape, requesting her to follow him to his own country. But the lady betrayed the trust confided in her and reported the matter to her brother, the king. This made Tailapa more revengeful and heartless than before. He ordered his servants to bind the captive king with cords and to lead him from door to door to beg his daily meal. Thus, having been reduced to an object of scorn, the Paramāra king, who once held sway over a vast tract of land, walked through the streets of his enemy's city with a begging bowl in his hand. The endless sorrows of his heart poured through the silent tears of his eyes and

often in the form of deep sighs. In his extreme agony Muñja bewailed his lot and at intervals cried aloud—

“I have lost my elephants and chariots. I have lost my horses ; I have lost my footmen, servants have I none.

“So, RudrĀditya, sitting in heaven, invite me, eager to join you.”

On another occasion, while begging, he thus addressed a woman who had jeered at his miserable plight.

“Foolish fair one, do not show pride, though you see me with a little pot in my hand.

“Muñja has lost fourteen hundred and seventy-six elephants.

“Do not be distressed, O Monkey, that I was ruined by her ;

“Who has not been ruined by women, Rāma, Rāvaṇa, Muñja and others ?”

“Do not weep, O my jailor, that I should have been made to wander by her,

“Only by casting a sidelong glance, much more when she drew me by the hand.

“If I had had at first that discretion which was produced too late,

“Says Muñja, O Mṛṇālavatī, no one would have cast an obstacle in my path.

“Muñja, that treasury of glory, lord of elephants, king of the land of Avanti.

“That creature who was long ago produced as the dwelling-place of Sarasvatī,

“He has been captured by the lord of Kārṇāṭa, owing to the wisdom of his ministers,

“And has been impaled on a stake : alas ! perplexing are the results of Karma.”¹

The officers of the Cālukya king, thus leading Muñja through the streets for a long time, at last brought him to the place of execution. They severed his head from his body, moistened it with thick sour milk, and fixed it on a stake in the courtyard of the royal palace.

In this way Tailapa wreaked his vengeance upon his stubborn enemy, and Muñja was relieved of his untold miseries.

Merutuṅga's version of Vākpati's overthrow and execution, which we have just given, is corroborated in its main details by the epigraphic account of the Cālukyas. The Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V¹ records that Utpala was cast into prison by his grandfather, Tailapa. The Gadag inscription² of Vikramāditya VI boasts that the valiant Muñja was slain by that monarch's remote predecessor, Tailapa II. The Â'in-i-Akbari also corroborates this assertion by stating that Muñja lost his life in the wars of the Deccan.³

In this fight with the Paramāras, Tailapa was probably helped by his feudatory Bhīllama II, who ruled in Southern Khandesh, on the border of the Paramāra kingdom.⁴ The Sangamner copper plate of this Yādava chief states that he crushed the military force of the great king Muñja and "thereby made the

1 Hūṇa-prāṇa-hara-pratāpa-dahano yātrā-trasan-Māravaś
Caidya-cchedy akhila-kṣamā-jaya-naya-vyutpannā-dhīr
Utpalaḥ

Yenātyugra-raṇāgra-darśita-va (ba) la-prācuryya
-śauryodayaḥ kārāgāra-nivesitaḥ kavi-vr̥ṣā yaṁ varṇnayan
ghūrṇṇi (rṇṇa) te. etc

(I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, lines 41-43)

2 E. I., Vol. XV, p. 350, v. 2.

3 P. 276. Jarrett.

4 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 513 ; cf. E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 69.

goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the home of the illustrious Raṇaraṅgabhīma.' ”

Bhillama's father Vaṇḍiga was a feudatory of the Rāstrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja. ¹ It is very likely that after the fall of the Rāstrakūṭas this Yādava family transferred its allegiance to the new Cālukya government. Tailapa II, Muñja's adversary, had the appellation of Āhavamalla, which is almost synonymous with Raṇaraṅgabhīma. Taking all these things into consideration, Professor Kielhorn identifies Raṇaraṅgabhīma with Tailapa II. Dr. Barnett does not support this view, but, if Professor Kielhorn is right, the above verse of the Sangamner plate is significant in as much as it makes clear the fact that Vākpati was the main obstacle in the way of Tailapa's founding a Cālukya empire in the Deccan, and his subsequent defeat and death alone made it possible for the latter to establish a permanent sovereignty. In this circumstance it is not quite impossible that Vākpati who had persistently troubled the Cālukya king for more than twenty years, fell a victim to the vengeance of the latter in the manner described by Merutuṅga.

Amitagati completed his Subhāṣitaratnasamdoha in V. S. 1050 = 993 A. D., when Muñja was on the throne of Malwa. ² Tailapa II, the destroyer of Muñja, died shortly before 998 A. D. ³ Hence the execution of the Paramāra king must have taken place between these two dates

1 (Sve) nārāti-karāla-kāla-ra(ca)nā-caṇḍā(ṣi)-daṇḍena yo hatvā Muñja-mahā-nṛpa praṇayinīm saṅgrāma-raṅgāṇ-gaṇe lakṣmīm amvu (mbu) dhi-mekhalā-valayita-(kṣmā) varttinīm prāpayad bhūpa-śrī-Raṇaraṅgabhīma-bhavana sākṣāt-kula-stri-vratam || (E. I., Vol. II, p. 218, lines 40-42).

2 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 512-13.

3 Z. D. M. G., Vols. 59 & 61; Kāvya-mālā series, No. 82, ed. by Bhavadatta Śāstrī & Parab, Bombay, 1903.

4 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 432.

Vākpati's great ambition for military conquest did not make him unmindful of the internal development of his kingdom. He was himself a great poet, and granted without stint enormous bounties to those who devoted their lives to literary work. By his liberal patronage, unvarying devotion to the goddess of learning, and rich contributions, he brought about a renaissance of Sanskrit literature in Malwa. Padmagupta was his chief court-poet¹; Dhanañjaya, Bhaṭṭa Halāyudha, Dhanika, Dhanapāla, Śobhana, and other poets² flourished under his beneficent patronage.

He excavated many beautiful tanks in Malwa, one of which, situated at Dhārā, is still called after his name *Muñjasāgara*. He is also said to have built many temples and embankments at Ujjain, Maheshwar, Onker-Māndhātā and Dharmapuri.

Vākpati was a paternal ruler whose efficient administration greatly endeared him to his subjects. As a warrior, as a poet, and as an architect, he far excelled many of his contemporaries. By his successful achievements in various walks of life, he enhanced the name and fame of his family and illumined the country over which he ruled. His commanding personality and mighty valour won high laurels for him. The strength of his powerful armies humbled the pride of the peoples of Cedi, Lāṭa, Marwar, Gujarat, and Mewar. Merutuṅga states that Tailapa II won his victory over this Paramāra king by fraudulent methods and not by the superiority of his military power. In these circumstances Vākpati's failure in the south does not in any way prejudice his fame as a gallant soldier and good general. His death was a real loss to his kingdom. It was deeply felt by

1 Navasāhasāñka-carita, Sarga I, v. 6.

2 Vide Chapter VIII.

"O hill of the river of Love,
O crest-jewel of kings,
O store of the ambrosia of goodness,
O milky ocean of wit,
O lover of Ujjayinī,
O thou who wert a manifest God of Love to
young women,
O kinsman of the good, Moon of the arts, where,
O king, art thou gone ? Wait for me"¹

Though Vākpati had two sons, Aranyarāja² and Candana,³ who were appointed governors of Mount Abu and Jalor respectively, the succession to the throne fell to his younger brother Sindhurāja. This was probably done in pursuance of the arrangement made by Siyaka II just before his abdication. The Prabandhas⁴ tell us that Bhoja was the immediate successor of Muñja, and deny the intervention of Sindhurāja as a ruler between them. In this connection they narrate a story to the effect that the two brothers Muñja and Sindhurāja were for a long time at enmity with each other and that the feud ended finally with the lifelong imprisonment of

2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 11.

3 An unpublished inscription, vide post. Chapter X.

4 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 36.

the latter.' But the discovery of a large number of authentic documents prove the baselessness of this statement. At least five dynastic inscriptions stand to prove that Sindhurāja was the immediate successor of Vākpati, and none of them gives the slightest hint of unfriendly relations between the two brothers. Padmagupta, in the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*,² while concluding his remarks on Vākpati, relates that "he (i. e. Vākpati), when in course of time set out for the city of the husband of Ambikā, laid the earth on the arm of this (Sindhurāja) which is marked by scars of the bowstring." On this Professor Buhler rightly remarks that,³ "strictly interpreted, this sentence would mean that he made his brother 'Yuvarāja' (heir-apparent) on his deathbed, and solemnly appointed him his successor. But considering that we know Vākpati's manner of death, this view is not admissible. But the passage may indicate that Sindhurāja had become 'Yuvarāja' some time before Vākpati's fatal expedition."

Sindhurāja assumed the appellations of Kumāranārāyaṇa and Navasāhasāṅka. He is generally described by Padmagupta as Avantīśvara, Paramāra-mahābhṛt, and Mālavarāja.⁴ Yaśobhata, who was also known as Ramāṅgada, was his chief minister.

No inscription of Sindhurāja's reign has yet been discovered. Our main source of evidence is the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* of Padmagupta. The object of this book is to record, in the form of a story, some of the

1 Forbes' *Rās Mālā*, Edited by H. G. Rawlinson, 1924, Vol. I, p. 85.

2 *puram kālā-kramāt tena prasthiten Āmbikā-pateḥ |
maurvī-kiṇāṅkavaty asya pṛthvī doṣṇi-niveśitā ||*

(Sarga XI, v. 98).

3 I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 165.

4 *Navas*°, Sarga I, vv. 6, 11, 102, 1, 15, 2, 51, 3, 19.

incidents leading to the marriage of the king with the Nāga princess, Saśiprabhā. The narrative runs that, once upon a time, when the king Navasāhasāṅka, accompanied by his minister Ramāṅgada, was engaged on a hunting expedition on the Vindhya mountain, he saw at a distance a very beautiful spotted antelope, wearing a gold chain round its neck. The king, in order to secure it, shot an arrow at the animal which at once pierced it. The antelope speedily fled away with the arrow still sticking into its body. The king intended to follow it, but was dissuaded by his minister, who persuaded him to take sufficient rest for the day. Next morning, the king in the course of his fruitless pursuit after the wounded antelope, met with a swan carrying a string of pearls in its beak, on the bank of a lotus-pond. With a little effort he obtained possession of that necklace, inscribed on which he discovered the name Saśiprabhā. This excited in him a strong desire for the acquaintance of the owner of the ornament.

Saśiprabhā was the daughter of the Naga prince Śaṅkhaṇḍa, and she was very fond of wandering about on the Haraśaila, on the Malaya mountain, and on the Himācala. This princess of surpassing beauty, in the course of one of her excursions on the spur of the Vindhya mountain known as Kusumāvacūla, had to stay on the sandbank of the Śaśāṅkasūti.¹ There, one day, she found her pet animal, the spotted antelope, wounded by an arrow which still remained embedded in its body, and on which was engraved the name "Navina-sāhasāṅka Sindhurāja."² She reflected that the king who styled

1 *i. e.* the Narmadā or Revā.

2 Navina-Sāhasāṅkasya kāmādevākṛter ayam
Mālavaika-mṛgāṅkasya Sindhurājasya śāyakaḥ ||

(Navas°, Sarga VI. v. II).

himself a "new Sāhasāṅka" must be one of high rank and authority. She felt a strong desire to meet him, and this secret desire of her heart was made known to her attendants.

The Nāga maiden Pātālā, a member of the princess's retinue, while searching in the mountain woods for the lost necklace of her mistress, which had been carried off by a swan, probably in mistake for a lotus-root, came upon the king and conducted him forthwith to Śaṣiprabhā. The princess instantly fell in love with him, and he with her.

But to his disappointment, the princess and her attendants were immediately carried away miraculously to the Nāga capital Bhogavatī, in the underworld. The king, enamoured as he was of the beauty of the princess, determined to secure her hand at any cost. In company with his minister, he appealed to the goddess Narmadā for assistance in discovering the princess's whereabouts, and the goddess told him that Śaṣiprabhā was the daughter of the Nāga king, Śaṅkhapāla, whose hereditary enemies were the demons (Asuras). The demon-king, Vajrāṅkuśa, had his capital at Ratnāvati, which lay at a distance of 50 *gavyūti* from that place, *i. e.* from the bank of the Narmada. Śaṅkhapāla declared that he would give the hand of his daughter to the hero who should be able to secure the golden flower lying in the pond attached to the pleasure-house of the demon-king, and should present it, as an ornament for her ear. It was evident that no one could fulfil such a condition as that without first breaking the power of Vajrāṅkuśa.

Sindhurāja determined, at any rate, to undertake an expedition against the demon-king. The difficulties in the way, and the knowledge that many a king before him had met with signal failure in similar attempts, could not deter him from his enterprise. On this occasion

he was helped by the Vidyādharas, under their prince Śasikhanda, whose father was Śikhanda-*ketu*, and by the Nāgas under their general, Ratnacūḍa. The allied armies in the course of their onward march, first pitched their camp on the bank of the Trimārgagā,¹ *i. e.* Gaṅgā, and subsequently halted in a forest on the outskirts of Ratnāvati.

On the refusal of Vajrāṅkuśa to hand over the lotus-flower in friendly fashion, Sindhurāja launched a terrible attack upon the demon armies. A fierce battle ensued, in which the minister Ramāṅgada lost his life at the hand of Viśvāṅkuśa, the son of the demon-king.² Sindhurāja, however, ultimately succeeded in defeating and killing Vajrāṅkuśa. He conquered his capital and readily took possession of the golden lotus.

Having entrusted the charge of the province to Ratnacūḍa, he then proceeded to Bhogavati. The Nāga-king received him with great respect, and made him a valuable gift of a crystal "Śiva-liṅga," and his marriage with the princess Śasiprabhā was celebrated with great rejoicings and festivity.

This is the sum and substance of Padmagupta's Navasahasāṅka-carita. In the first quarter of the 13th century A. D. the poet Madana wrote the Pārijāta-mañjari, the object of which was to represent in the form of a drama the course of events leading to the union of his patron king, Arjunavarman, with the Gurjara princess, Vijayaśrī. Though the whole plot is based on a myth, its historical background has now been proved by the discovery of a number of inscriptions.³

¹ Navasahasāṅka-carita, Sarga 14, v. 85 ; Gaṅgā-varṇana, *ibid.*, vv. 79-87.

² Navas², Sarga XVII, v. 60.

³ Vide Chapter VII.

As regards *Navasāhasāṅka-carita*, we have also sufficient reason to believe that it represents a solid historical fact in the garb of a romantic story. The poet expressly tells us that the object of his narrative is to record the life-story of *Sindhurāja*, which he has undertaken, not from motives of poetic pride, but at the command of his master.¹ That the book has something of an historical character, and is not purely fantastic panegyric, is further proved by the fact that the death of the minister *Ramāṅgada* at the hands of the demon-prince is mentioned in the narrative, though it could safely have been omitted without any material injury to the plot. Professor Bühler remarks² that "the story which *Padmagupta* relates in his *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* with the peculiar breadth of the *Mahākāvya*, has, without doubt, a historical background. Not only did the hero of the poem, king *Sindhurāja*, really exist, the other people too, who appear in the poem as *Nāgas*, *Vidyā-dharas*, *Asuras*, etc., have played a part as comrades or enemies of the king. Meanwhile, it will be difficult to fix the true names and positions of the historical characters which appear in *Padmagupta*, and must be left to others."

I will now endeavour to trace the main historical outline upon which the plot is based.

- 1 (a) etad vinidra-kumuda-dyuti-padmaguptaḥ
 Śrī-Sindhurāja-nṛpateś caritaṃ babandha
 (Grantha-praśasti, Verse I.)
- (b) yac cāpalaṃ kiṃ api mandadhiyā mayaivam
 āsūtritaṃ narapate Navasāhasāṅka ।
 ājñāiva hetur iha te śayanī-kṛtoga
 rājanya-mauli-kusumā na kavitva-darpaḥ ॥
 (Grantha-praśasti, v. 4.)

2 I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 154.

Having eliminated the apparent mythical portions, we get the following facts in the narrative on which to base our enquiry.

There was a Nāga king whose capital was at Bhogavati; he was a contemporary of Sindhurāja, and he had a daughter named Śaśiprabhā. The family to which the Nāga king belonged were devout worshippers of Śiva. The demons, whose territory was apparently quite close to that of the Nāgas, were hereditary enemies of the latter.

In ancient Indian literature, the demons (Asuras) represent the non-Aryan population. The capital of this particular branch of the non-Aryan tribe was at Ratnāvati, which was situated four gavyūtis or about two hundred miles south of the Narmada, which Sindhurāja had to reach after crossing the "Trimārgagā". This river is to be identified, in all probability, either with the Penganga or with the Wainganga, both of which are tributaries of the Godavari. It will be seen below that the poet very likely meant the latter. Though the actual name of the demon country is not mentioned, the king's name, Vajrāṅkuśa, suggests that the country was, in all likelihood, that known as Vajra. In ancient literature Vajranagara is mentioned as the name of the capital of a demon prince named Vajranābha.¹ The Eastern Cālukya Vijayāditya (A. D. 799-843) and his grandson Guṇaga-Vijayāditya (A. D. 844-888) bore the epithet "Tribhuvanāṅkuśa", which means "Elephant-goad of the three worlds."² The name of the demon prince who killed the minister Ramāṅgada was Viśvāṅkuśa, which with a slight difference conveys the same meaning as "Tribhuvanāṅkuśa". Following this, Vajrāṅkuśa

1 M. Williams Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 879.

2 I. A., Vol. XX, pp. 100-02.

might be taken to mean "The Elephant-goad of the country of Vajra." There was a large wood in this Vajra country, through which Sindhurāja had to pass before he finally entered its capital, Ratnāvati. Ratnāvati is described by the poet as a place full of gems. ¹

The ancient name of the modern Wairagarh, in the Chanda District, Central Provinces, was Vajra or Vajrā-gadh. It lies about two hundred miles south of the course of the Narmada where it leaves the eastern border of the Paramāra kingdom. It is separated from the western and northern tracts of the Central Provinces by the Wainganga. The usual route from Malwa to Vajra is crossed by this tributary just by the latter country. In early times Vajra was famous for its diamond mines. ² In the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, ³ it is stated that in the year 1474 A. D., Sultān Muḥammad Shāh II, son of Sultān Humāyūn Shāh, ruler of the Bahmanī kingdom, being aware of the existence of a diamond mine in the district of Wairagarh, sent his general 'Ādil Khān to conquer it from its ruler Jatak Rāya. On the approach of the Muhammadan army Jatak Rāya submitted, and the Sultān enriched his treasury with the diamonds that were taken from this conquered province. The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* also speaks of a ⁴ diamond mine in Bīrāgaḍ (*i. e.* Vajrāgaḍh), which was under the dominion of the Mughal emperor, Akbar. In the Kuruspal stone inscription ⁵ the Nāga Someśvara (A. D. 1097) is described as the "diamond-piercer" (Vajra-bhedaka), from the fact

¹ Navas°, Sarga XVII, v. 74.

² E. I., Vol. X, p. 27.

³ A. S. I. (Cun), Vol. VII, p. 129.

⁴ I. A., Vol. XXVIII, p. 286.

⁵ Jarrett, pp. 229-230.

⁶ E. I., Vol. X, p. 30, v. 10.

that he conquered the country of Vajra. There was also a big forest in that locality which contained a large number of wild elephants. Rājendra Cola I (1012-1042 A. D.) carried off many herds of elephants from Vairāgaram, which is the same as Vajrāgadh.¹

As regards the ancient rulers of this country, the local tradition informs us that a line of Māna or Māni, apparently an aboriginal tribe, ruled there for a certain period of time. In the Settlement Report² of the Chanda District, within the jurisdiction of which Wairagarh is situated, Mr. Louis Smith states that the Gonds conquered this country about 870 A. D., prior to which it was under the sway of the Māna princes. But this view has been refuted in the Chanda District Gazetteer of 1909, where it has been pointed out that the Gonds came into possession of that part of the country in the 13th or 14th century A. D. If this proves to be true, then, during the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries A. D., the country of Vajra and its neighbourhood were certainly under the dominion of the non-Aryan Māna kings, who are admitted to have preceded the Gonds there. That Vajra formed a separate province under its own rulers about this period, admits of no doubt. The Ratanpur inscription³ of the Kalacuri Jājalladeva, dated 1114 A. D., tells us that the king received annual presents from the chiefs of the Maṇḍalas of Vairāgara and others

Thus from all these facts we find that Padmagupta's description of the demon country corresponds in the main with that of the ancient territory of Vajra.

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 127.

² 1869, p. 61.

³ E. I., Vol. I, p. 33.

On the south-eastern border of Vajra lies the modern Bastar state, which was under the sway of a Nāga dynasty in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries A. D.¹ The princes of this family designate themselves as 'lords of the eminent city of Bhogavati.' They were devout worshippers of Śiva.² Our present stock of knowledge does not furnish us with the names of the princes who preceded the king Dhārāvarṣa of this family. He flourished in the middle of the 11th century A. D. The earliest known date of his son and successor, Someśvara, is Śaka 1019 = 1097 A. D.³ These Nāga rulers were members of the Chinda family⁴; Cand Bardāi groups them among the thirty-six royal Rājput races. The relation between these Nāga chiefs and the rulers of Vajra was evidently inimical. The Kuruspal stone inscription⁵ of the Nāga Someśvara states that the king conquered the country of Vajra and burnt its forest. Thus the circumstantial evidence would seem to suggest that this Nāga dynasty is indicated by the family of Śaṅkhaṭāla to which Padmagupta refers.

Padmagupta tells us that Sindhurāja was helped by the Vidyādhara prince, Śasikhaṇḍa. The Vidyādhara are described in ancient literature as a class of demi-gods. Śasikhaṇḍa was also the name of a mythical Vidyādhara prince.

1 E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 160 ff.; P. R. Ass. Arch. Supdt. for Epigraphy, S. circle, 1908-9, p. III ff.

2 Nāgavaṃśodbhava-Bhogavati-puravarṣa. E. I., Vol. IX, p. 134; Vol. X, pp. 32, 35, 38.

3 Ibid., Vol. X, p. 37.

4 Prthvirāja Rāso, Canto I, p. 54. (Nāgaripracārini Granthamālā).

5 (ma) Pura-bhadrāpattanāhārya-vajram api Vajra-(bheda)-kaḥ | Vajra-sambhava purāṭavidavobhāti (so)mana (ma)-hītale | V. 10, E. I., Vol. X, p. 30, line 19.

The Śilāhāras ruled in Konkan, which runs along the western coast of the Indian peninsula. They were divided into many branches,¹ of which the most northerly established its government at Sthānaka, the modern Thana.² It was formerly a feudatory of the Rāstrakūṭas of Mānyakheta.³ The Bhadana grant⁴ of the Śilāhāra Aparājita, dated 977 A. D., shows that the king, although he continued to bear the title of a subordinate chief, was not a vassal of the Cālukyas of Kalyani. In their epigraphic records Śilāhāra princes trace their pedigree from the mythical king Jīmūtavāhana, who is mentioned in early literature as a king of the Vidyādhara.⁵ Aparājita's grandson, Chittarāja (1026 A. D.), is referred to in his inscription⁶ as one who was by nature a Vidyādhara. Candaladevī or Candralekḥā, the queen of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI and the daughter of a Śilāhāra chief of Karād, is mentioned by Bilhana as a Vidyādhara princess.⁷ From all these it may be concluded that the Śilāhāras represented the mythical Vidyādhara. In my opinion the Vidyādhara, referred to by Padmagupta, were none other than these Śilāhāras. This is further confirmed by the fact that

1 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

2 Ibid.

3 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 16, 404, 40, 406 ;
Aparājita assumed independent power about the year
997 A. D. ; *ibid.*, p. 16.

4 E. I., vol. III, p. 273.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 265 ; Kathāsaritsāgara, Vol. X., p. 192.
Transl. by Tawney.

6 E. I., Vol. XII, p. 263, line 18.

7 Vikramāṅkadeva-carita, Sarga VIII, v. 3, & IX, v. 27 ;
Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 499 ; E. I., Vol. XII,
p. 266.

the poet locates the home of these people close to the sea.¹ No king of the name of Śasikhaṇḍa is found in the genealogical table of the Śilāhāras. It may be that the poet has concealed the identity of a real prince under a mythical name. If my suggestion proves to be true, Śasikhaṇḍa, in this instance, may be taken to represent the Śilāhāra Aparājita, who was a contemporary of Sindhurāja.²

Taking all these things into consideration, it may be asserted that the theme of Padmagupta's Navasahasāṅka-carita is one of Sindhurāja's adventurous expeditions against the Māna king of Vajra. The general outline on which Padmagupta has based his story may be given from the above discussion, as follows :

The ancient Nāga dynasty of the Bastar State was at constant enmity with its neighbours, the non-Aryan kings of Vajra. In the last quarter of the 10th century A. D., a king of that Nāga family, having failed to cope successfully with the Mānas in battle, turned to Sindhurāja for help. The Paramāra king readily granted his request, and marched with an army against the Māna chief. In this campaign, he was accompanied by his minister, Ramāṅgada, and was assisted apparently by the Śilāhāra Aparājita and the Nāga armies. In the course of his long march, he once pitched his camp on

1 In the 13th Sarga, Śasikhaṇḍa gives the following account of himself to Sindhurāja. He dwelt on the mountain Śasikānta, and his father was Śikhaṇḍaketu, prince of the Vidyādhara. Once a rumour went forth that a representation of Viṣṇu, made of sapphire, had risen out of the sea. The people of the town flocked to witness the wonder. He also, in company with his wife, proceeded to the seashore, to satisfy her curiosity.

2 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XIII, p. 13 ; E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 273.

the banks of the Wainganga and subsequently halted in a wood in the Vajra country, on the eve of his attack upon the Māna capital Ratnāvattī. He demanded submission from the Māna chief, but on the latter's peremptory refusal, a fierce battle followed. Ramāṅgada lost his life at the hand of the Māna prince. Sindhurāja slew the Māna king in the battle, and finally conquered Ratnāvattī. The Nāga chief, as a token of gratitude for his services, gave him his daughter in marriage. Sindhurāja adorned the new bride with rich jewels, which he obtained through plundering the Māna capital, and then made a triumphant march to his own kingdom.

Some time before his victory over the Māna king, Sindhurāja seems to have come into conflict with the Kalacuris of Mahākosala,¹ whose territory lay on the north-eastern border of the Vajra country. Its capital was at Tummāna, modern Tumana, a village in the Bilaspur District, in the Chattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces.² Padmagupta records Sindhurāja's victory over the king of Kosala, which evidently meant Dakṣiṇa-Kosala.³ The vanquished chief of Kosala seems to have been Kaliṅgarāja, the founder of this junior Kalacuri branch.⁴ It is also to be noted here that the Nāga dynasty of the Bastar State was at war with these Kalacuris. The Nāga Śomeśvara was

¹ E. I., Vol. I, p. 33.

² Ibid. ; I. A., Vol. LIII, pp. 267ff.

³ Uditena vairi-timira-druhābhitas

Tava nātha vikrama-mayūkha-mālinā |

Nihitās tvayā mahatī śoka-sāgare

Jagatindra *Kosala-pateḥ* purandhrayah ||

(Sarga X, v. 18, p. 161, fn. II.)

⁴ E. I., Vol. I, p. 33.

defeated and captured in battle by the Kalacuri Jājalladeva (1114 A. D.).¹

It is doubtful whether Sindhurāja, during the course of his military excursions, advanced as far as the country of the Muralas, as is stated by Padmagupta.² Murala is the same as Kerala, which is to be identified with the modern Malabar coast.³ Professor Bühler⁴ suggests that the poet might have meant by it the whole Dravidian District, and have referred to the continuation of the struggle between the Cālukyas and the Paramāras during the reign of Sindhurāja. But this is untenable.

WAR WITH THE HŪNAS.

On the north Sindhurāja seems to have tried to carry out the military policy of his predecessors. The fight with the Hūnas, which began during the reign of Siyaka, was now brought to a successful termination. Both the Udayapur praśasti⁵ and the Navasahasāṅka-carita⁶ glorify his success over the Hūna king.

Vāgaḍa was the name of the territory which now comprises the modern Banswara and Dungarpur States. The southern portion of it had been ruled by a junior branch of the Paramāras as vassals of the house of

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 33.

2 Navas°, Sarga X, v. 16.

3 N. L. De's Geog. Dictionary, pp. 98, 134.

4 I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 171 ; E. I., Vol. I, p. 229.

5 Tasyānujo nirjīta-Hūnarājāḥ śrī-Sindhurājo vijayarjīta-śrīḥ (E. I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 16.)

6 Apakartum atra samaye tavāṭṭa-bhīr
manasāpi Hūna-nṛpatir na vāñchati |
ibha-kumbha-bhitti-dalanodyame harer
na kapiḥ kadācana saṭam vikarṣati || (Sarga X, v. 14.)

Dhārā.¹ Sindhurāja seems to have wrested its northern portion from the Guhilas of Mewar. His victory over the people of that country is narrated in the Navasāhasānka-carita.²

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF LĀṬA.

The Lāṭa chief Bārappa, who seems to have been defeated on one occasion by Vākpati, subsequently lost his life at the hands of the Caulukya Cāmundaṛāja, son of Mūlarāja.³ The Caulukyas, on that occasion, appear to have conquered the whole of Lāṭa. But Bārappa's son Goṅgirāja, was a brave general. He succeeded in regaining his paternal territory, overthrowing the supremacy of the Caulukyas. A copper-plate grant of Trilocanapāla,⁴ dated 1050 A. D., states that "Goṅgirāja relieved his own land like the great Viṣṇu, the land that was seized upon by powerful enemies like demons." But apparently, before he could fully establish his authority on his paternal throne, he had to confront an invading army of the Paramāras. The war which followed resulted in his temporary defeat. Sindhurāja's successful expedition against Lāṭa is mentioned by Padmagupta.⁵

1 Vide Chapter X.

2 Asi-kānti-jāla-jaṭilāgra-bāhunā
raṇa-sīmni nātha nihateṣu bhartṛṣu |
bhavatātra Vāgaḍa-vadhū-janaḥ kṛto
rati-sandhi-vigraha-kathā-parāṇmukhaḥ || (Sarga X, v. 15.)

3 Dvyāśraya, by Hemacandra, 6th Sarga ; Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 159

4 I. A., Vol. XII, p. 203.

5 Rabhasād apāsyā maṇi-kaṅkaṇāvaliḥ
kanak-āravinda-kāṭakeṣu te 'sinā |
na kim arpitāni nṛpa Lāṭa-yositān
sphaṭikākṣa-sūtra-valayāni pāṇiṣu. ||

(Navas°, Sarga X, v. 17.)

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

All these successful military feats undoubtedly added lustre to the career of Sindhurāja. His campaigns in the neighbourhood of Gujarat soon involved him in a quarrel with the Caulukyas of Anhilwar. At the time when the Paramāras were struggling in the Deccan under Vākpati, Mūlarāja made good use of the respite to increase his resources. By his political ingenuity he succeeded in leaving behind him a strong and well-established empire.¹ His son Cāmuṇḍarāja (997-1009 A. D.), who in his youth had distinguished himself by the conquest of Lāṭa, was a worthy successor. It was during the early part of Cāmuṇḍa's reign that Sindhurāja launched a campaign against Gujarat. But Cāmuṇḍarāja offered a successful resistance and completely routed the Paramāras. The Vadnagar praśasti² of Kumārapāla, dated 1151 A. D., states that, seeing from afar the armies of Cāmuṇḍarāja, Sindhurāja, together with his elephant forces, made such a cowardly flight that all his well-established fame was lost by it.³ This defeat of the Paramāras had a serious effect upon their political authority in the north. It seems to have led to the

1 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 156.

2 Sūnus tasya babhūva bhūpa-tilakaś Cāmuṇḍarāj-āhvayo yad-gaṇḍha-dvipa-dāna-gaṇḍha-pavanāghrāṇena durād api vibhraśyan mada-gaṇḍha-bhagna-karibhiḥ śrī-Sindhurājas tathā naṣṭaḥ kṣoṇi-patir yathāsya yaśasām gaṇḍho pinirnāśitah |

(E. I., Vol. I. p. 297.) Read kṣoṇi-pater.

3 Jayasimha, who flourished about the fourteenth century of the Christian era, says in his Kumārapāla-carita, that Sindhurāja was killed in the battle by Cāmuṇḍarāja : "Rāja Cāmuṇḍarājo 'tha yaḥ Sindhurājam ivonmattaṁ Siṃdhurājam mṛdhe' vadhīt' (v. 31). But in view of the above account of the Vadnagar praśasti, it cannot be maintained.

relaxation of their supremacy over Mount Abu and Southern Marwar, which eventually culminated in the temporary overthrow of the Paramāra rule in the former province, in the third decade of the 11th century A. D. ¹

Side by side with his political activities, Sindhurāja energetically fostered the literary movement, which had been vigorously carried on in Malwa under the patronage of his predecessors. Padmagupta tells us that, ² “The seal which Vākpatirāja put upon my song when he was about to enter heaven (by his death), Sindhurāja, brother of that friend of poets, now breaks.” By this he means that the loss of Vākpati silenced him, and now the genial patronage of Sindhurāja revives his poetic genius.

This indirectly shows that the literary activities, which had fallen into abeyance owing to the death of Vākpati, received fresh impetus under the encouraging attention of Sindhurāja. The old poets Dhanika and Dhanapāla seem also to have adorned his court.

Sindhurāja did not rule long, and he was succeeded by his son Bhoja. As regards the duration of his reign nothing can at present be said with accuracy. The last known date of Vākpati is 993-4 A. D., and the earliest known date of Bhoja is 1020 A. D. ³ Sindhurāja reigned between these two dates. Merutuṅga says ⁴ that Bhoja enjoyed his sovereignty for “fifty-five years, seven months and three days.” This detailed information of

¹ Vide Chapter IX.

² Grantha-prāśasti, v. 7 ; I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 150, foot-note 4, vide post chapter VIII.

³ E. I., Vol. XI, p. 182.

⁴ Pañcāśat-pañca-varṣāṇi-māsāḥ sapta dīna-trayaṃ |

Bhoktavyaṃ Bhojarājena sa-Gauḍaṃ Dakṣiṇāpatham ||

(Prabandha^o ; Muñja-prabandha, p. 57.)

the Jaina teacher may be provisionally accepted as true in the absence of any evidence to the contrary. The earliest known date of Bhoja's successor, Jayasimha, is 1055 A. D. Following this, Bhoja's accession may be considered to have taken place in the early part of 999 A. D. This also settles the furthest limit of Sindhurāja's reign. ¹

¹ Lassen and others suggest that Bhoja ascended the throne in 1005 A. D. (Pāiyalacchī, edited by Bühler, Introduction, p. 9.) Bühler removes the date to 1010 A. D. (Ibid.) I beg to differ from them, on the authority of Merutuṅga, which is the only definite available evidence to throw light on the subject.

CHAPTER IV.

BHOJA THE GREAT.

According to Merutuṅga,¹ Bhoja was the immediate successor of Vākpati on the throne of Malwa. A horoscope, cast immediately after Bhoja's birth, revealed that he was destined to rule Dakṣiṇāpatha with Gauḍa for fiftyfive years, seven months, and three days. This led Vākpati seriously to consider the question of his own son's peaceful succession, and he is said subsequently to have given orders for the execution of Bhoja. When the prince had been taken to a certain place for the fulfilment of the royal command, the officers in charge adjured him to prepare for death by commending himself to his chief deity. But he merely requested them to send to the king the following verse :²

“Māndhātṛ, that lord of earth, the ornament of the Kṛta age, passed away ;

Where is that enemy of the ten-headed Rāvaṇa, who made the bridge over the ocean ?

And many other sovereigns have there been, Yudhiṣṭhira and others, ending with thee, O king ;

Not with one of them did the earth pass away ;

I suppose it will pass away with thee.”

The officers took pity on his youth and sent the stanza as directed. When the king read it, he regretted his own conduct, and at once ordered the prince to be brought back, receiving him with great affection and according him the dignity of a crown-prince.

¹ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 22.

² Ibid,

The same story, with slight alterations, is repeated in the *Â'in-i-Akbarî*,¹ where it is stated that after Bhoja's birth, his relations, on account of an erroneous horoscope, deserted him and exposed him to death, but that very soon afterwards, when the error was detected, the child was restored to their affection.

A number of contemporary records relate that Vâkpati was succeeded by his younger brother, Sindhu-râja, who was again followed by his son Bhoja. In view of this fact, the above story is to be rejected in its entirety.

Six inscriptions of Bhoja's reign have hitherto been discovered.

(i) The Banswara plates, dated 1020 A. D.²

These plates were found in the possession of a coppersmith in Banswara, in Rajputana. They record that Bhoja, on the anniversary of his conquest of Koṅkana, granted one hundred nivartanas of land in the village of Vaṭapadraka, in the Ghâgradora bhoga of the Sthali mandala, to a Brahman Bhâila, son of Vâmana, whose forefathers came there from the city of Chiñchâ. The inscription was issued in Samvat 1076, which corresponds to the 3rd January 1020 A. D.

Of the localities mentioned above, Vaṭapadraka is to be identified with the modern village of Baroda in the Banswara State³; Koṅkana is the modern Konkan, the narrow strip of land that runs along the western coast of the peninsula of India. Nothing can be said

¹ *Â'in-i-Akbarî*, Vol. II, pp. 216-17.

² E. I., Vol. IX, p. 182.

³ A Guhila inscription, dated V. S. 1291=1234 A. D., states that Sihaḍadeva was ruling at that time in Vaṭapadra, which is situated in Vâgaḍa (modern Banswara and Dungarpur States). P. R. (W. C.), 1915, p. 36.

definitely regarding the Ghāgradora bhoga and the Sthālī maṇḍala. They must have comprised lands around the village of Baroda.

(ii) The Betma plates, dated 1020 A. D. ¹

The inscription was discovered by a farmer while ploughing near the village of Betma, sixteen miles to the west of Indore, in Central India.

In this record Bhoja announces to the government officials, Brahmans and other local residents, Patels and townsmen, assembled at Nālatadāga, situated in the Nyāyapadra Seventeen, that he has granted the above mentioned village of Nālatadāga to the learned Delha, son of Bhaṭṭa Thaṭṭhaśika, who was an emigrant from Sthānviśvara and whose ancestors had migrated from Viśālagrāma. The gift was made on the occasion of the annexation of Koṅkaṇa, with the object of increasing the religious merit of the king and his parents. It was recorded in V. S. 1076, Bhādrapada su-di 15, which corresponds to September 1020 A. D.

Mr. Diskalkar, who has edited this inscription, suggests ² that Nyāyapadra represents the modern town of Napad, in the Kaira District, a little to the south-west of Indore. Nālatadāga, according to him, is to be identified with the modern Nar (Nal), in the same District. Sthānviśvara is evidently the modern Thanesar, in the Karnal District of the Punjab.

(iii) The Ujjain plate, dated 1021 A. D. ³

The inscription was found by a peasant when ploughing near a small stream called Nagajhari, which is included in the sacred Pañcakroṣṭi of Ujjain. It records

¹ E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 320.

² Ibid., p. 322.

³ I. A., Vol. VI, p. 53.

that in Samvat 1078, Māgha=1021 A. D., January, Bhoja, having worshipped the lord of Bhavāni, from his residence of Dhārā granted the village Virāṇāka, situated within the District to the west of Nāgadraha, to a Brahman named Dhanapati Bhaṭṭa, son of Bhaṭṭa Govinda, a Ṛgvedi Brahman, who was an emigrant from Śrīvāḍa, situated in Vella Valla in Karṇāṭa. The record was executed in Caitra, su-di 14 of the same year.

Nāgadraha, mentioned above, is apparently the locality around the stream Nagajhari, where the plates were found. It is difficult to identify the village Virāṇāka.

(iv) The Sarasvatī image inscription, in the British Museum, dated 1033 A. D. ¹

This record is engraved on the pedestal of an image of Sarasvatī, now in the British Museum. It states that in Samvat 1091=1033 A. D., Bhoja caused this image of Vāgdevī to be erected by a sculptor, Manathala, the son of the craftsman Sahira.

(v) The Tilakwada copper plate, dated 1047 A. D. ²

This was found by a man in the bed of the Narmada, at a place called "Nānā Owārā" (smaller bathing ghat), in Tilakwada, in the Baroda State.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village called Viluhaja, along with a hundred nivartanas of land from the neighbouring village of Ghantāpalli, for the maintenance of the temple of Ghantēśvara. The donor was the illustrious Jasorāja, who was apparently a governor of Bhoja, in the Saṃgamakheta-maṇḍala.

¹ Rūpam, 1924, p. 1.

² Proceedings and Transactions of the first Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, p. 319.

His father was Surāditya, a member of the Śravaṇabhadra family, who had emigrated from Kānyakubja. In Samvat 1103 Mārga-(śirṣa)=1047 A. D., having worshipped Śiva, called Maneśvara, in the temple that stood on the confluence of the river Maṇā with the Narmada, Jasoṛāja made this grant of land. The record was prepared by the Kāyastha Sohika, son of Aivala, of the family of Vala, at the request of the king.

(vi) The Kalvan inscription.¹

This inscription was discovered in a village near Kalvan, in the north-western part of the Nasik District of the Bombay Presidency. Yaśovarman, an officer of Bhoja, had been ruling over fifteen hundred villages, Selluka and others. In the Âudrahâḍi viṣaya of that province, which consisted of eighty-four rent-free villages, was situated the village of Mukṭāpalī. Rāṇaka Amma of the Gaṅga family, the chief officer of the viṣaya, while residing in the above-mentioned village, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, on the new-moon day of Caitra, granted certain pieces of land at Mahiṣabuddhikā, in the holy tīrtha of Kālakāleśvara, to the temple of Munisuvrata, which was situated in the Śvetapāda country. The inscription also mentions the donation of two oil-mills, fourteen shops, fourteen drammas, etc., for the benefit of the same temple. In connection with the lands granted, reference is made to the villages of Māhudalā, Hathāvāḍa, Kākāḍa, Oḍḍailvata, Aṭṭani, and the city of Saṃgāma.

Kālakāleśvara tīrtha is to be identified with the place, now ten miles to the west of Kalvan, where the Śaiva temple of Kālakāleśvara is still to be found. Śvetapāda is the ancient name of Khandesh. Mr. D. B.

Diskalkar gives the following suggestions regarding the identification of the rest of the localities :¹

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| (a) Selluka | is the modern Satane, near Kalvan. |
| (b) Mukṭāpālī | „ „ „ Makhamalavad. |
| (c) Mahuḍalāgrāma | „ „ „ Mohadi, in the Din-dori tāluka to the north of Makhamalabad. |
| (d) Mahiṣabuddhikā | „ „ „ Mahasarula, near Nasik. |
| (e) Hathāvāda | „ „ „ Halasagadh fort. |
| (f) Saṃgāmanagara | „ „ „ Sungane, capital of a petty Bhil state on the border of the Nasik and Surat Districts. |

None of these equations, however, seems satisfactory.

As regards the date of this record, we know nothing except that it was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse, in the month of Caitra. Bhoja conquered Konkan in 1019-20 A. D. As the record contains this information, it must have been issued after this date.²

¹ Journal of Indian History, Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 326.

² Mr. R. D. Banerji thinks that the record was issued during the troublous period that followed the death of Bhoja. His assertion is based upon the following points :

(a) The absence of Garuḍa and Snake Seal, the emblem of the Paramāras.

(b) The absence of the date and of all mention of the reigning king as kuśālī.

(c) The absence of the customary verse, at the beginning, in praise of Śiva. (E. I., Vol XIX, p. 70).

Although some of the general characteristics of the Paramāra grant are absent from this inscription, this does not

If to all these epigraphic evidences is added that of Al Bêrûnî,¹ who states that in 1030 A. D. Bhilsa was the eastern limit of the Malwa kingdom, the following outline of the Paramāra dominion, over which Bhoja ruled in the early part of his reign, may be sketched. It extended on the north as far as Banswara and Dungarpur, on the east to Bhilsa, on the south to the upper courses of the Godavari, Khandesh and Konkan, and on the west to the modern Kaira District.

After the accession of Siyaka II, Ujjain seems to have enjoyed the position of the chief city of the Paramāra kingdom. During that period Dhārā lost much of its importance. Bhoja rebuilt the city on a new model, and transferred his capital thither from Ujjain.² Rohaka was the prime minister of his government,³ and Kulacandra,⁴ Sāḍa and Surāditya⁵ were his three generals. Bhoja was probably a boy of fifteen, or thereabouts when he assumed the government. During his reign the country became very affluent and prosperous, and the Paramāras rose to the zenith of

preclude the assumption that the record was issued during the reign of Bhoja. The particular care which the donor has taken to mention the name of Bhoja at the beginning of the inscription is strong evidence that it was contemporary with that king. After all, it is a grant issued by a private individual, and not a royal personage. (See, for further discussion, the Journal of Indian History, Vol. II, Part III, p. 326.)

¹ Al Bêrûnî's "India" translated by Dr. E. C. Sachau, Vol. I, p. 202.

² Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 46 ; Al Bêrûnî, who visited India in 1030 A. D., describes Dhārā as the capital of Malwa (Sachau's translation, Vol. I, p. 202).

³ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 36.

⁴ Ibid., p. 46.

⁵ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 72. ; vide ante p. 86.

their power. The ideals which were set up by Vākpati were now fully realised in every sphere of life. The new king became renowned for his literary and architectural achievements. Like his predecessors, he was an intrepid warrior, an astute general, and a great conqueror. In early life he seems to have cherished a dream of establishing a paramount sovereignty over the whole of Central India. His attempt to realise this ambition soon involved him in ceaseless wars with the neighbouring rulers.

WAR IN THE SOUTH.

Bhoja seems to have selected the Deccan for his initial military adventure. After the execution of Muñja by Tailapa II, there was a temporary cessation of the long-continued war between the Paramāras and the Cālukyas. Tailapa was followed by Satyāśraya (997-1008 A. D.), Vikramāditya V (1008-1014 A. D.), Ayyana II (1014 A. D.), and Jayasimha II (1015-1042 A. D.). In the early years of the eleventh century A. D., the old feud between the two neighbouring families was revived with full vigour. Merutuṅga tells us¹ that once Bhoja was making the necessary arrangements for leading an army against Gujarat, and as this country was suffering at the time from great economic distress, its king, Bhīma, sent his agent Dāmara to the court of Dhārā to dissuade the Paramāra sovereign from pursuing his proposed undertaking. Dāmara, to this end, arranged for a drama to be played before Bhoja, in which the execution of Muñja at the hand of Tailapa II was touchingly exhibited. This prompted the Paramāra king to direct his course, in the first place, against the Karmāṭa country, in place of

¹ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 45.

Gujarat, and the *Bhoja-carita* tells us that he subjected Tailapa to severe indignities, by way of reprisals, and finally executed him.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, making due allowance for some historical inaccuracies, suggests,¹ on the basis of the above story, that it was not Tailapa but his grandson Vikramāditya V, who lost his life at the hands of Bhoja. Mr. Ojha, on the other hand, is inclined to identify the *Calukya* king who fell a victim to Bhoja's vengeance with Jayasimha II.² A verse in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*³ recounts that "Filling the whole of Svarga (Heaven) with the fame of his victories, Jayasimha received a garland of flowers, culled from the *Pārijāta* tree, from Indra's own hands." This, according to Mr. Ojha, points to Jayasimha's death on the battlefield, which may presumably be taken to have occurred in his contest with Bhoja. Mr. Venkatarama Ayyar objects⁴ to Mr. Ojha's assertion, on the ground that in the ancient mythologies it was the "apsarās" (angels) and not Indra who garlanded the hero who died on the field of battle. According to him, Bhandarkar's view seems more tenable. In the absence of any other corroborative evidence and in the face of such a gross chronological inaccuracy, the above story, as narrated in the *Bhoja-carita*, together with *Merutunga's* version of it, should be accepted only with reservation. If it contains any grain of truth, Mr. Ojha's view seems to be a nearer approach towards the correct solution of the problem. It was Jayasimha, and

1 The Early History of the Deccan, by R. G. Bhandarkar,
p. 61.

2 Ojha's History of the Solāṅkis, part I, pp. 87ff; Ajmer,
1907.

3 Canto I, v. 86.

4 I. A., Vol. XLVIII, p. 118, fn. 54.

not Vikramāditya V, who was contemporary with Bhīma of Gujarat (1022-1064 A. D.), during whose reign Bhoja is said to have invaded the Cālukya kingdom. Authentic information regarding the struggle between the Paramāras and the Karmāṭas, which was a distinguishing feature of the history of this period, can be gathered from sundry contemporary records.

Some epigraphic evidence is at our disposal to prove that Bhoja, in the course of his military conquests in the south, came into conflict with the Cālukya Jayasimha. The tragic circumstances under which his uncle Muṇja had died in the Deccan, were still fresh in his memory, and, as Merutunga tells us, prompted him to launch a campaign against Karmāṭa. He made a temporary alliance with the Kalacuri Gāṅgeya and the Cola Rājendra I, for a simultaneous attack upon the Cālukya empire.¹ He seems to have achieved some preliminary successes in the contest that followed. Both the Kalvan inscription² and the Udayapur prasasti³ record his victory over the Karmāṭas. But his final attempt to establish supremacy over the Deccan seems to have ended in signal failure. An inscription,⁴ dated 1019 A. D., of the reign of Jayasimha, informs us that

1 Kulenur inscription, E. I., Vol. XV, p. 330.

2Karmāṭa-Lāṭa-Gūjjara-Cedy-a(a)dhīpa-Komkaṇ-esa
(śa)-prabhṛti-ripu varga-nirddārīta-janīta-trāsa-yasa(śo)-dhava-
lita-bhuvana-trayaḥ Śrī-Bhojadevalines 6-7, E. I., Vol. XIX,
pp. 71-72).

3 Cediśvar-Emdraratha-(Togga)la-(Bhīma-mu)khyān
Karmāṭa-Lāṭa-pati-Gūjjara-rāṭ-Turuṣkān |
Yad-bhṛtya-mātra-vijitān avalo(kya) maulā
doṣṇam va(ba)lāni kalayaṃti na (yoddhṛ)-lo(kān) ||

(E. I., Vol. I., p. 235, v. 19.)

4 I. A., Vol. V, p. 17.

the king was "a moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja", and that "he searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Mālava". The Kulenur inscription² of the same monarch, dated 1028 A. D., states that the king routed the elephant squadrons of the Coḷa, Gāṅgeya and Bhojarāja. In this defensive operation Jayasimha seems to have been assisted by one of his vassals, named Bācīrāja, who is eulogised for having put the Mālavyas to shame by his victorious arms.³

After this the hostility between the two houses seems to have ceased for a number of years. But the old quarrel soon sprang up again with the accession of Someśvara I, son and successor of Jayasimha, who ruled in the Deccan from 1044 to 1068 A. D. Constant wars with the neighbouring kings undermined the military strength of Bhoja in the latter part of his reign, and thus provided a favourable opportunity for Someśvara to launch aggressive campaigns against Malwa. Bilhana, in his *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, narrates³ that in a battle with Āhavamalla, when Dhārā, the glory of the

1 E. I., Vol. XV, p. 330.

2 Hyderabad Archæological Series, No. 8, p. 20, v. 37.

3 *Dīpra-pratāp-anala-saṃnidhanād bibhrat pipāsām iva*

yat-kṛpāṇaḥ |

Pramāra-prthvī-pati-kīrti-dhārām Dhārām udārām

kavalīcakāra || 91

Agādha-pāṇīya-nimagna-bhūri-bhūbhṛt-kuṭumbo' pi

yadīya-khaḍgaḥ |

Bhāgya-Kṣāyān Mālava-bhartur āsīd ekāṇ na Dhārām

parihartum īśaḥ || 92

Niḥśeṣa-nirvāsita-rāja-haṃsaḥ khaḍgena bāl-āmbuda

-mecakena |

Bhoja-kṣamā-bhṛd-bhuja-pañjare 'pi yaḥ kīrti-haṃsīm

virasi-cakāra || 93

Paramāra lords in Mālava, was stormed, king Bhoja fled away after which the Cālukyas took possession of the city. An epigraphic record of Someśvara I's reign, tells us that the king assailed even the city of Dhārā, which proved invincible to early kings.¹ An inscription² from Sudi, dated 1059-60 A. D., says that Âhavamalla was "a submarine fire to the whole of the ocean that is the race of the Mālavayas." The same inscription further states that Nāgadeva, a steward of the royal house of the Cālukyas and a military officer, was a Garuḍa to the serpent Bhoja," which indicates a defeat of Bhoja by this general.³ Nāgadeva was also governor of a province consisting of the "Kisukād Seventy," the "Toragare Sixty" and many "bhaṭṭa-grāmas."⁴ In the Hottur inscription,⁵ dated 1067 A. D., Jemarasa, a feudatory of Someśvara I, is described as "a flame of doom to Bhoja." Mādhuva was also a feudatory under this Cālukya sovereign. An inscription from Nagai,⁶ dated Śaka 980 = 1058 A. D., issued during his reign, states the fact of Someśvara's burning of Dhārā and Ujjain. Mādhuva himself joined in this enterprise, and takes to himself

Bhoja-kṣamāpāla-vimukta-Dhārā-nipāta-mātreṇa raṇeṣu
yasya |

Kalpānta-kālānala-caṇḍa-mūrtiś citraiḥ prakopāgnir avāpa
sāntim || 94

(Vikramāṅkadeva-caritam, Sarga I.)

1 Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1928, p. 72, line 13.

2 Mālavya-vaṃśārṇav-ākhilad Aurbhānalan..... (E. I., Vol. XV, p. 87, v. 2.)

3 Bhoja-bhujamgāhi-dviṣaṃ, (ibid., p. 88, v. 5).

4 Ibid., p. 92.

5 E. I., Vol. XVI, p. 86.

6 Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 8, p. 20.

the credit of driving away the lord of Dhārā from his capital. Gundamaya was the daṇḍanāyaka of Someśvara I. An inscription, dated 1060 A. D., glorifies him by stating that he was "a royal swan, strolling on both the banks of the Narmadā, an evil comet to the Mālava people, capturer of the fort named Maṇḍeva (modern Mandu), and was held in honour in the city of Dhārā."¹

From all these it may be concluded that Someśvara I, accompanied by his subordinates, Nāgadeva, Gundamaya, Jemarasa and Mādhuva, invaded Malwa in the middle of the 11th century A. D., and that Bhoja, having failed to repel this formidable force, fled away from his capital. Malwa was overrun by the Cālukya armies, and its capital Dhārā was sacked. Someśvara, however, soon left his enemy's country, when Bhoja returned and revived his authority. The blow was undoubtedly a severe one to the Paramāras, and during this cataclysm they seem to have lost large part of their southern possessions. Since the reign of Śīyaka II the Godavari appears to have been the southern limit of the Paramāra kingdom; but the Sitabaldi pillar inscription, dated Śaka 1008=1087 A. D.,² proves that by that time the boundary of the Cālukya empire had been pushed northwards as far as Nagpur, in the Central Provinces. This was probably the achievement of Someśvara I, who at one time brought the whole of the Mālava kingdom under his direct control. The result of this Cālukyan invasion was, for more than one reason, disastrous to the Paramāras. It not only narrowed their territory, but, as we shall see, it tempted the other neighbouring rulers to take advantage of their helplessness.

¹ An. Report of the Mysore Arch. Dep. for 1929, pp. 68-69.

² E. I., Vol. III, p. 304.

WAR WITH INDRARATHA.

Almost about the same time that Bhoja was at war with the Cālukya Jayasimha, he came into conflict with a powerful prince named Indraratha. His decisive victory over Indraratha is recorded by the Udayapur prasasti.¹ This vanquished general was a king of no mean importance. In all probability, he was the same person who is mentioned in some Cola inscriptions of this period. The Tiruvavallangadu inscription² of the sixth year (1018 A.D.) of Rājendracōla (1012-1042 A.D.) states that the king's general "conquered Indraratha and captured the country of the jewel of that Lunar race, who met him (in battle) with powerful elephants, horses, and innumerable foot-soldiers." The Tirumalai rock-inscription³ of the thirteenth year (1025 A. D.) of the same Cola monarch reports that the king captured Indraratha of the Lunar race, together with his family, in a battle that took place in the famous City of Ādinagara. Ādinagara may be identified with the famous city of Nagara, the modern Mukhalingam, in the Ganjam District, Madras Presidency. It was the capital of the Gangas of Kalinga. This suggestion finds further support from the fact that, in the list of the northern countries successively conquered by Rājendracōla I, it precedes the Odda-viṣaya, which comprised the modern Orissa. Indraratha might have been a vassal of the Gangas of Kalinga. As he is described as being captured by the Colas some time before 1018 A. D., his reverse at the hand of the Paramāras probably took place prior to that catastrophe.

¹ Ante p. 91, footnote 3.

² S. I. I., Vol. III, Part III, p. 424.

³ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 233.

WAR WITH LĀṬA.

Having finished his wars with Jayasimha and Indraratha, Bhoja turned his arms against the countries bordering the western coast of the peninsula of India. His success in this direction was sweeping, and gained for him a large territory, though only for a short period. The country of Lāṭa, which extended up to Surat, in the Bombay Presidency, seems to have been first assailed by him in the course of his southern march. The Lāṭa king, Kīrtirāja, son of Goṅgirāja, who apparently suffered defeat at the hand of Sindhurāja, was his contemporary. The Surat grant of Kīrtirāja is dated 1018 A.D.¹ He was evidently no match for the powerful armies of Bhoja, and being hard pressed by the latter, he seems to have surrendered his kingdom and capital to him. The Kalvan inscription and the Udayapur praśasti both record Bhoja's conquest of Lāṭa.² The copper-plate grant of Trilocanapāla,³ who was the grandson of Kīrtirāja, seems to refer to this disaster in the statement that during the reign of Kīrtirāja his fame was temporarily taken away by his enemies.

WAR WITH KONKAN.

The acquisition of Lāṭa emboldened Bhoja to push his arms further south. This brought him to the border of Koṅkaṇa, a country extending from the Thana District, Bombay Presidency to the Malabar coast of the Madras Presidency on the south. The Śilāhāras held sway over the northern part of this

¹ Vienna Oriental Journal,
Vol. VII, p. 88.

² Ante, p. 91, footnote 2 and 3.

³ I. A., Vol XII, p. 204.

country, and their territory extended as far as Goa. They had been on friendly terms with Sindhurāja and helped him in his expedition against the Mānas of Wairagarh; but for some reason, their relations with Bhoja became unfriendly. The tenth king of the family was Arikeśarin, whose other name was Kesideva. ¹ The Thana plate ² of his reign, dated 1017 A. D., records that he had been ruling the whole land of Koṅkaṇa, comprising many territories acquired by his own arm, and containing fourteen-hundred villages, headed by Puri. In all likelihood, Bhoja invaded Konkan during the reign of this prince and succeeded in defeating him and forcing him to acknowledge his suzerainty. On his return to Malwa he celebrated this event with great pomp and ceremony, making liberal gifts to Brahmans. His own records relate that the ceremony for the conquest of Koṅkaṇa was performed on the 3rd January, 1020 A. D., ³ and that its final annexation was concluded in the month of September of the same year. ⁴ The Śilāhāras, however, continued to rule over Konkan, probably as vassals of the Paramāras, ⁵ till they

1 E. I., Vol. XII, p. 253 ; Asiatic Researches, Vol. I, p. 357.

2 E. I., Vol. XII, p. 254.

3 Koṅkaṇa-vijaya-parvaṇi, E. I., Vol. XI, p. 182.

4 Koṅkaṇa-grahana-vijaya-parvaṇi, *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 320.

5 Some are inclined to think that during this period the Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan were feudatories of the Cālukyas of Kalyani (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 436). At present no evidence is available to support this view. The Miraj plates of the Cālukya Jayasimha II, dated 1024 A. D., state that the king, having taken the wealth of the lords of the Seven Koṅkaṇas, encamped at Kolhapur for the purpose of conquering the northern country (..... Sapta-Koṅkaṇādhiśvarāṇaṃ sarvasvaṃ grhītvā uttara-dig-vijayārthaṃ Kolhā(114?)pura-samīpa-samāvāsita ... I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 18). (For Seven Koṅkaṇas,

were subjugated by the Caulukyas of Gujarat in the early part of the 12th century A. D. The Bhandup plate of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Chittarāja, the immediate successor of Arikeśarin, dated 1026 A. D., records that this prince was ruling over the whole land of Koṅkaṇa, containing fourteen hundred villages, headed by Puri. Similar claims are also put forward by his successors in their epigraphic records, in which they always assume the epithet of a subordinate chief.

About this time, *i. e.* in the third decade of the eleventh century A. D., the perilous situation created by successive invasions of the Moslems in Northern India led

see Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, pp 381-82). This clearly points out that the northern part of Konkan, which lies north of Kolhapur, in the Bombay Presidency, still did not come under the control of the Cālukyas. The Sudi inscription of the reign of Someśvara I, dated 1059 A. D. (E. I., Vol. XV, p. 91), praises the king for shattering the hosts of Konkan. An inscription of the reign of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI, dated 1084 A. D., (E. I., Vol. XV, p. 103), records that the Koṅkaṇas trembled before this monarch. All these facts serve to show that the relations between the Cālukyas and the Koṅkaṇas were those rather of enemies than of overlord and vassal.

1 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 24.

2 I. A., Vol. V, p. 277. On the strength of the Miraj plates, Mr. Diskalkar suggests that Konkan was wrested from Bhoja by the Cālukya Jayasimha some time before 1024 A. D. (E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 321.) But a critical examination of the above report shows that by the Seven Koṅkaṇas which Jayasimha conquered are meant the territories south of Kolhapur, and that the countries north of that still remained to be conquered. I agree with Mr. P. V. Kane in thinking that the ruler of the Seven Koṅkaṇas referred to above must have been a Kādamba king of Goa. (Proceedings & Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, p. 380.)

Bhoja to stop his aggressions in the south. The disastrous condition to which his neighbours were reduced by these new invaders made him fully conscious of his own position. He probably had to array all his forces on the northern boundary of his realm in order to offer a strong resistance to their apprehended invasion.

WAR WITH THE MOSLEMS.

Bhoja never had to fight with the Moslems in defence of his own realm. At the time of his accession to the throne, Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī was beginning his military operations against India. Firishta tells us that "In the year 399 H. (1008 A. D.), Maḥmūd, having collected his forces, determined again to invade Hindūstān, and to punish Anandpāl who had shewn much insolence during the late invasion of Multān. Anandpāl, hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindūstān, who now considered the expulsion of the Muhammadans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly, the Rājās of Ujjain, Gwāliār, Kālinjar, Kanauj, Delhī and Ajmir entered into a confederacy, and, collecting their forces, advanced towards the Panjāb with a greater army than had ever before taken the field against Amīr Sabuktigīn. Anandpāl himself took the command, and advanced to meet the invader." In the battle that followed the Hindūs were ultimately defeated and 8,000 of them were killed.

In the early years of the 11th century A. D., Ujjain was the capital of the Paramāra government, and in 1008 A. D. Bhoja was apparently on its throne. If Firishta's report proves to be true, it is to be maintained that the Paramāras rendered assistance to Ānandapāla

in his war against Maḥmūd. Mr. V. A. Smith¹ accepts Firishta's statement as correct. Sir Wolseley Haig remarks² on this that "the number and consequence of Anandpāl's allies are perhaps exaggerated, but it is evident from Maḥmūd's excessive caution that Anandpāl had received considerable accession of strength and the army which he led into the field was a very different force from that which Maḥmūd had so easily brushed aside on his way to Multān." None of the early Muhammadan historians says anything about the participation of the other Hindu chiefs in the battle as mentioned by Firishta. Hence this account should be accepted with due reservation³

The Udayapur praśasti⁴ records that Bhoja conquered the Turuṣkas by means of his mercenaries. Malwa was

1 Oxford Hist. of India, p. 191, 2nd ed.

2 Cambridge Hist. of India, Vol. III, pp. 15-16.

3 In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* it is written that "when Maḥmūd resolved upon returning home from Somnāt, he learned that Parama Dev, one of the greatest Rājas of Hindūstān, was preparing to intercept him. The Sultān, not deeming it advisable at the time to contend with this chief, went towards Multān, through Sind." (Elliot, History of India, Vol. II, App. 473-474.) This information is also contained in Firishta. (Elliot, Hist. of India, Vol. VI, pp. 219-220). Some are inclined to think that by Parama Dev is meant "Paramāra-deva", who is to be identified with Bhoja. (Downfall of Hindu India, C. V. Vaidya, p. 158).

Firishta writes that "Reinforcements arrived to the Hindus on the third day (of the attack of Somanātha), led by Param Dev and Dābshilīm whom Maḥmūd attacked and routed, slaying 5000 Hindus." (Elliot, History of India, vol. IV, p. 182, footnote 2). It is very likely that the Parama Dev alluded to in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* is the same as Param Dev, just referred to, who is to be identified with Baramdev or Bhīmadeva of Gujarat.

4 E. I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 19.

never invaded by the Moslems during his rule. Hence it seems that he sent his mercenaries to fight with the Moslems somewhere outside his kingdom. It is not definitely known where and when his troops encountered this enemy. I can only hazard a conjecture upon this point. *Firishta* states that, "in the year 435 A. H. (1043 A. D.), the rāja of Dehlī, in conjunction with other rājas, retook Hansy, Tahnesur and their dependencies, from the governors to whom Madood had entrusted them. The Hindūs from thence marched towards the fort of Nagrakote, which they besieged for four months; and the garrison, being distressed for provisions, and no succours coming from Lahore, was under the necessity of capitulating." It may be that Bhoja sent troops to the assistance of the king of Delhi in his war against the Moslems.

Mr. Stirling points out from the annals of Orissa that Bhoja is there described as having ruled from B. C. 184 to B. C. 57, and as having routed the army of the Yavanas from Sind. It seems, as Professor Kielhorn thinks, that the king referred to above was none other than Bhoja of Malwa, who is ante-dated by about twelve centuries. We have no other evidence to throw light on the subject.

WAR WITH THE KALACURIS.

In the foregoing chapter it has been seen that Vākpati II, in the course of his military excursions, overran the Cedi country and plundered its capital Tripurī, from which its ruling sovereign Yuvarāja II, had fled. The Kalacuris, however, succeeded within a

¹ Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 118, cf. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 32-33.

² E. I., Vol. III, p. 338.

very short time in regaining their possessions. They did not then re-instate Yuvarāja on the throne, since he had shown such abject cowardice on the approach of the Paramāras. Instead they chose as their ruler Kokalla II, the son of the deposed monarch.¹ His successor was Gāṅgeya-Vikramāditya, whose earliest known date is V. S. 1076=1019 A. D.,² and who closed his reign shortly before 1042 A. D.³ He was a powerful king, and during his reign, the Kalacuri government first attained to an imperial position. He conquered the king of Gauḍa and brought Tīrabhukti under his sway.⁴ In the early years of his reign he entered into an alliance with Bhoja and Rājendracōla, for the simultaneous invasion of the Karpāta country.⁵ But, as we have seen, the allies were discomfited and routed by the Cālukya, Jayasimha II.⁶ The alliance, however, was subsequently broken, and the old feud between the Paramāras and the Kalacuris revived. Bhoja, with his skilful warriors, marched against Tripurī and won a decisive victory over Gāṅgeya. Both the Kalvan inscription⁷ and the Udayapur prasasti⁸ extol Bhoja's victory over the Cedi king. In the Pārijāta-mañjarī it is said that he "fulfilled his desires in a festival which was the defeat of Gāṅgeya."⁹ This

1 E. I., Vol. II, p. 5.

2 J. A. S. B., 1903, p. 18.

3 E. I., Vol. II, p. 297.

4 J. A. S. B., 1903, p. 18.

5 Ante, p. 91.

6 Ante, p. 92.

7 Ante, p. 91, footnote 2.

8 Ibid., footnote 3.

9 Valgad-vāṇa-jaya-kṣamo vijayate nibhṛṣa-gotrāṇa-kṛt
Kṛṣṇaḥ Kṛṣṇa ivārjuno 'rjuna iva śrī-Bhojadevo nṛpaḥ

vanquished chief is evidently identical with the Kalacuri Gāṅgeya. Bhoja's victory over this powerful Kalacuri King says much for the extent of his high military power.

Gāṅgeya was succeeded by his son, Karna (1041-1072 A. D.), who was an astute general and one of the greatest of the Hindu kings of ancient India. During his reign the war between the Kalacuris and the Paramāras continued in full swing. He made an alliance with the Cauḷukya Bhīma, and simultaneously attacked Malwa from the east and the west. But so long as Bhoja was alive, Karna could not secure any advantage of great consequence.¹

WAR WITH THE CANDELLAS.

Having completed his expedition on the south, Bhoja seems to have turned his arms against his northern neighbours. The kingdom of the Candellas of Jeḷākabhukti bordered the Paramāra territory on the north-east. It has already been seen that, in the middle of the 10th century A. D., the Candella Yaśovarman was at war with the Paramāras of Malwa.² He was followed by Dhaṅga (950-999 A. D.) and Gaṇḍa (999-1025 A.D.). Gaṇḍa was followed by Vidyādhara (1025-1040 A.D.), who was renowned for his bravery and warlike activities. He defeated and killed the Pratihāra Rājyapāla of Kanauj.³ The Kalacuri Gāṅgeya had also to yield

Viṣṭhūrjad-ṣiṣameṣu-vedha-vidhurāṃ rādhāṃ vidhatte
sma yas

Tūrṇṇaṃ pūrṇa-manorathāś ciraṃ abhūd Gāṅgeya
-bhaṃgotsave ||

(E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 101, v. 3.)

¹ Prabandha°, p. 74.

² E. I., Vol. I, p. 123.

³ Ibid., Vol. II, p. 233.

to his military force.¹ It was very difficult for Bhoja to carry out his military operations freely in the north until the forces of Vidyādhara had been shattered. This led him to attack the Candella Kingdom, but with no very favourable result. The Mahoba inscription of the Candellas vaunts the superiority of Vidyādhara over Bhoja by recording that "Bhojadeva, together with the moon of the Kalacuris, worshipped, full of fear like a pupil (this) master of warfare (*i. e.* Vidyādhara,) who had caused the destruction of the king of Kānyakubja."²

WAR WITH THE KACCHAPAGHĀTAS OF GWALIOR
AND THE GURJARA-PRATIHĀRAS OF KANAUJ.

His reverse at the hands of the Candellas did not however, discourage Bhoja from pursuing his military operations on the north. He appears to have cherished the ambition of conquering Kanauj, which was then passing through a transitional period, due to the collapse of the imperial power of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. In the middle of the tenth century A. D. the Paramāra Vairisimha II wrested Malwa from the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla II (946 A. D.), or his successor Devapāla (949 A. D.). Since then the government of Kanauj had been fast declining in power, and its kingdom was reduced to a small territory around its capital. Devapāla was followed by Vijayapāla (960 A. D.) and Rājyapāla (1025 A. D.).

¹ E. I., Vol. I, p. 219. Vidyādhara was a contemporary of Gāugeya. Hence the moon of the Kalacuris referred to here must be identified with the latter.

² Tasmād asau ripu-yaśaḥ-kusumāharo 'bhūd Vidyādharo nṛpatir apra(ti) (v. 20).

Vihita-Kanyākubja-bhūpāla-bhaṅgam

Samara-gurum upāsta prauḍha-bhīs talpa-bhājan

Saha Kalacuri-candrah śiṣyavad Bhojadevaḥ (v. 21)

(E. I., Vol. I, pp. 221-222).

The last-mentioned king, as has been noticed above, was killed by the Candella Vidyādhara. He was succeeded by Trilocanapāla (1027 A. D.) and Yaśahpāla (1036 A. D.) successively, after which there is no further trace of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.

This state of things on the north gave Bhoja a very wide field for the display of his military skill. His northern neighbours, the Kacchapaghātas of Dubkund, were sworn enemies of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. The prince Arjuna of this family assisted the Candella Vidyādhara in defeating and killing Rājyapāla.¹ His successor was Abhimanyu, with whom Bhoja seems to have entered into an alliance on the eve of his northern expedition. Abhimanyu's assistance was a great asset to the Paramāras in securing the success of their military operations. The Dubkund inscription, dated V. S. 1145=1088 A. D., of Abhimanyu's grandson Vikramasimha states that "the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhojadeva, has widely celebrated the skill which he (Abhimanyu) showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons."

The alliance with the Dubkund prince did not provide Bhoja with a free passage to the border of the kingdom of Kanauj. Now another branch of the Kacchapaghātas, holding sway over Gwalior, stood as a barrier in his way. Kirttirāja, the successor of Maṅgalarāja, seems to have

¹ E. I., Vol. II, p. 237.

² (Sū)nu-(cchi)nna-dhanur-gguṇaṃ vijayino 'py ājau vijityo-(rji)taṃ jāto 'smād Abhimanyur anya-nṛpatin āmanyamānas tṛṇam ||

Yasyātya(dbhuta)-vāha-vāhana-mahā-śastra-prayogād iṣu-prāvīṇyaṃ pravikatthitaṃ pṛthu-mati-śrī-Bhoja-pṛthivībhuja. (E. I., Vol. II, p. 237-8, lines 17-18.)

been on the throne about this time.* He arrayed his army to offer a successful resistance to the approaching Paramāra forces. In the fierce battle that followed, the Paramāras suffered a severe reverse. The Sasbahu inscription* of the Kacchapaghāta Mahīpāla tells us that Kīrttirāja defeated the countless host of the prince of Malwa. The Malwa army received such a terrible shock on this occasion that the spears fell from their hands through fear, and were subsequently collected by the villagers (apparently of Gwalior) and heaped around their houses.

1 The Kacchapaghāta Mahīpāla was ruling in 1093 A. D. (I. A., Vol. XV, p. 33), and the earliest known date of his successor is 1104 A. D. (ibid., p. 202). Padmapāla, who was the cousin and predecessor of Mahīpāla, died at an early age (ibid., p. 43, v. 30). Taking 1104 A. D. as the last date of the latter and allowing a reign of 20 years to each generation, except in the case of Padmapāla, the genealogy of this family stands thus :

Vajradāman	977 A. D. Known date 977 A. D. (J. B. A. S., Vol. XXXI, p. 393).
Maṅgalarāja	999 A. D.
Kīrttirāja	1019 A. D.
Mūladeva	Bhubanapāla 1039 A. D.
	Devapāla 1059 A. D.
	Padmapāla 1074 A. D.
	Mahīpāla 1084 A. D.—1093 A. D.
	Successor 1104 A. D.

2 Kiṃ brūmo 'sya kathā (dbhu)taṃ narapater etena

śauryābhdhinā

Da(ṇḍ)o Mālava-Bhūmipasya samare (saṃ)khyāṃ

atīto jītaḥ ।

Yasmi(n bhaṅgam u)pāgate diśi diśi trāsāt kar āgra

-cyutair

ggrāmiṇāḥ sva-grhāṇi kunta-nikaraiḥ saṃcchādayāṃcakrire ।

(I. A., Vol. XV, p. 36, v. 10.)

Notwithstanding his failure to bring the Gwalior chief under his control, Bhoja succeeded at any rate in forcing his way through to the kingdom of Kanauj. There he fell upon the Pratihâras, whose king at that time was probably Yaśahpâla, and won so decisive a victory that the dominion of the Pratihâras was completely extinguished, never to recover, and its place was taken by that of the Paramâras. The Udayapur prasasti tells us that ' Bhoja conquered the lord of Cedi, Indraratha, Toggala (?), Bhîma, Karṇâtas, the lord of Lâta, the king of the Gurjaras, and the Turuṣkas. The Bhîma mentioned here was evidently the Cauḷukya king of Gujarat ; hence the king of the Gurjaras referred to in the same connection, may be taken to mean some other ruling chief, who is to be identified with the Pratihâra prince of Kanauj. Merutunga ' also gives a hint of Bhoja's victory over the king of the same country.

Kanauj did not, however, long remain under the control of the Paramâras. It was subsequently taken by the Kalacuri Karṇa. In the latter part of the 11th century A. D., the Gâhaḍavâlas under Candradeva established their sovereignty over it. The Basahi plate of Govindacandra, dated V. S. 1161=1104 A. D., states that, ' "in the lineage named Gâhaḍavâla there was a victorious king, the son of Mahiala, named Candradeva, who, when on the death of king Bhoja and king Karṇa,

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 19. 2 Prabandhacintâmaṇi p. 44.

3 Yâte śrî-Bhoja-bhûpe vivu(bu)dha-vara-vadhû-netra

-sîmâ-tithitvaṃ

śrî-Karṇe kîrtti-śeṣam gataṃ ca nṛpe kṣamâtyaye

jâyamâne |

bharttâraṃ yam va (dha)ritrî tri-diva-vibhu-nibhaṃ prîti

-yogâd upetâ

trâtâ visvâsa-pûrvvam samabhavad iha sa kṣamâ-patiś

Candradevaḥ |

the world became troubled, came to the rescue and became king and established his capital at Kanyākubja." If this verse is read in the light of the information supplied by the Udayapur praśasti, it suggests that Bhoja established for a time some kind of political authority over Kanauj. At the close of his reign the country passed under the sway of Karṇa, after whose death anarchy and disorder prevailed there, until Candradeva of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty assumed the sovereignty and succeeded in restoring peace and order.

Dviṣat-kṣitibhṛtaḥ sarvān vidhāya vivaśān vaśe |

Kanyākubje 'karod rājā rājadhānim anipditām ||

(I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 103, lines 3, 4, 5.)

Bhoja died some time before 1055 A. D., after which, no doubt, there was turmoil and disorder in the Malwa country. But with the accession of Jayasinha, about 1055 A. D., all disturbances subsided for some years. The Kalacuri Karṇa, to whom the inscription certainly refers, died in 1072 A. D., and was peacefully succeeded by his son Yaśahkarṇa. In these circumstances the statement of the poet referring to anarchy and disorder bears true significance, if the word "Dharitṛi" mentioned above is taken to mean the kingdom of Kanauj. We have evidence to prove that in ancient Indian records the term "world" or "earth" was sometimes used to indicate a particular territory. In the Vasantgadh inscription of Pūrṇapāla Mount Abu is described as the bhūmaṇḍalam (*i. e.* earth) (E. I., Vol. IX, p. 13, v. 8.). In the Udayapur praśasti Dhārā is described as the earth (E. I., Vol. I, p. 236, v. 21). The subject is made more clear by the statement of the inscription that Candradeva came to the rescue of the earth and became king, having established his capital at Kanauj. We know that Candradeva ruled only over a small territory around Kanauj. According to the information of the inscription the anarchy broke out in the earth. *i. e.* in Kanauj, after the death of Bhoja and Karṇa. Here the earth evidently means Kanauj. This suggests, though it does not definitely establish, that those two kings had some kind of political authority over Kanauj.

WAR WITH THE CHAMBA PRINCE.

In the course of his northern march Bhoja seems to have entered into a war with the ruling dynasty of Chamba, in the Punjab. In the Bhoja-carita a story runs that a "Yogi" (ascetic) from Kashmir came to Malwa, and, having transformed its ruler, Bhoja, into a parrot, himself became the king of Dhārā. The enchanted prince, while flying in the forest of Candrāvati, was caught by a Bhīl and was handed over to Candrasena, the king of that locality, who placed him under the care of his young daughter. The Yogi was subsequently killed by Candrasena, whereupon Bhoja regained his human form and got back his throne. Major Tod remarks on this story that "if any historical fact is meant under this allegory, it would probably be that an invader from the north despoiled Bhojadeva of his kingdom, that he fled in disguise to the wilds, and was carried from his concealment by the wild tribes, and finally, through the daughter of Candrasena, obtained liberty and aid to regain his kingdom." It is not yet corroborated by any other evidence that Bhoja ever was deprived of his kingdom by any northern invader. Nor is anything known of the king Candrasena of Candrāvati who is described as his contemporary. But it may be suggested that he came into conflict with a powerful chief of the Punjab. The Tilakwada copper-plate of Bhoja, dated 1047 A. D., informs us that the general Surāditya stabilised the royal fortune of Bhoja by slaughtering Sāhavāhana and others in battle.* No

1 T. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 224.

2 Sāhavāhana-saṃgrāme anyeṣāṃ api bhūbhujām ṁ hatvā yodhām (n?) sthirām lakṣmīṃ Bhojadeve cakāra yaḥ ṁ (Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, p. 324.)

king of the name of Śāhāvāhana is yet known to have ruled quite contemporaneously with Bhoja. There was a family of princes who ruled over Chamba, in the Punjab, during the 11th century A. D.¹ The most powerful king of this dynasty was the Paramabhatta-raka mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-Śālavāhanadeva, also known as Śāhilladeva, Śāla, Sahila and Soila, who assumed in addition the magnificent titles of Śāhasāṅka, Nīśāṅkamalla and Matamaśasimha.² He defeated the Kīra forces, the lord of Durgara, and the Turuṣkas.³ His allegiance was sought by the ruler of Trigarta, and he received homage from the lord of Kulūta⁴; but, as the Rājatarāṅgiṇī informs us,⁵ his power was checked by Ananta, the king of Kashmir. This happened between A. D. 1025 and 1031.⁶ It makes Śālavāhana a contemporary of Bhoja. It may be that he was identical with the Śāhāvāhana of the Tilakwada inscription. Bhoja had close relations with Kashmir, which is on the northern border of Chamba.⁷ As regards Śālavāhana's further military exploits, the Chamba copper-plate states⁸ that he "by destroying in Kurukṣetra the array of the elephants of his enemies, had acquired for himself the name of Karivarṣa." Kurukṣetra still retains its ancient name, and is a sacred place in the Karnal District, in the Punjab. Bhoja might have met with this Chamba prince on that historic battlefield. The fact

1 I. A., Vol. XVII, pp. 8-9

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Translated by Stein, Bk. VII, Vol. I, p. 218.

6 *Cun. Geo.*, p. 162.

7 *Chronicles of Kaśmīr (Rājatarāṅgiṇī)*, Stein, Vol. I, p. 284.

8 I. A., Vol. XVII, p. 8.

that Surāditya claims to have stabilised the fortune of Bhoja by defeating Śāhavāhana suggests that his overlord had to suffer some preliminary reverses in the battle, though finally he emerged victorious.

WAR WITH THE CĀHAMĀNAS OF ŚĀKAMBHARĪ AND NADOL.

Bhoja's warlike activities on the north soon brought him into close contact with the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, modern Ajmer. The king Viryarāma, successor of the Cāhamāna Vākpati II, was then on the throne of that country. Bhoja attacked him and inflicted a severe blow to his military power. The Pṛthvirājaviṇaya tells us that the glory of Viryarāma was destroyed by Bhoja of Avanti.¹ This brilliant success over the main branch of the Cāhamānas encouraged Bhoja to turn his arms against their collateral branch, holding sway over southern Marwar. After Vākpati-Muñja's defeat at the hand of the Cāhamāna Balirāja, there was for sometime a cessation of hostilities between the two families. Balirāja was followed by Mahindu, Aśvapāla, and Ahila.² These princes, though ruling only over a small territory, maintained a military force strong enough to cope successfully with their ambitious neighbours. Ahila succeeded in routing an army of Bhīma of Gujarat.³ His successor, Anahilla, repelled a second invasion of the same Caulukya monarch and distinguished himself by the conquest of Śākambharī.⁴ He had now to face

1 Agamyō yo narendrāṇāṃ sudhā-dīdhiti-sundarāḥ
Jaghne yaśacayo yaś ca Bhojen Āvanti bhūbhujā ॥
(5th Sarga, v. 67).

2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 71.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

the formidable forces of the Paramāras. Fortune was no more favourable to Bhoja than it had been to his uncle, Muñja. He was defeated and his general Śaḍha, lost his life in the encounter. ¹

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

Bhoja's struggle with the Caulukyas of Gujarat was a protracted one. The signal discomfiture of his father, Sindhurāja, by the Caulukya Cāmuṇḍarāja undoubtedly left a deep impression on his mind. In the early years of his reign an untoward event soon entangled him in a fresh quarrel with that monarch. Hemacandra tells us that ² once Cāmuṇḍarāja, being penitent for committing incest with his own daughter, Cāciṇī Devī, entrusted the charge of the government to his eldest son, Vallabharāja, and set out for KĀśī (Benares) on a pilgrimage for the expiation of his sin. On his way, to his abject humiliation, the RĀjā of Malwa forced him to give up all the insignia of royalty. He assumed a mendicant's garb and proceeded on his awy. But, having accomplished his object at the holy place, he returned to Anhilwar and lost no time in impressing on his son the necessity for strong action against the insolent RĀjā of Malwa. Vallabharāja accordingly marched forth with a large army to take revenge upon his father's enemy. On his way he was met by a number of other kings bringing him valuable gifts, and, in accordance with their advice, he pursued his journey by the route through the Kuntaladeśa, and thereby avoided the difficulty of crossing the two rivers Pārāparā and Sindhusindhu ; but

¹ Dr̥ṣṭaḥ kair na caturbhujāḥ sa samare Śakambharīm yo va-
(ba)lāḥ jagrāhānu jaghāna Mālava-Pater Bhojasya Śaḍhavayam. |

(E. I., Vol IX, p. 75, v. 17.)

² Dvyāśraya, seventh Sarga, pp. 521 ff.

unfortunately for him, he fell a victim to a serious type of smallpox before he reached Malwa. The efforts of his physicians were in vain, and when it was quite evident that he had no chance of recovery, he left instructions to his generals to stay their advance and return to Gujarat. They accordingly marched back to Anhilwar after the death of their beloved master (1010 A.D.). Cāmundaṛāja received the news with deep sorrow and retired to Śukla Tirtha (near Broach), on the banks of the Narmada, entrusting the government to his second son, Durlabharāja.¹

The fact of Vallabharāja's march against the Malwa king is also contained in an epigraphic record, which was issued about the time when the Dvyāśraya was composed. It says that,² "from him (*i. e.* Cāmundaṛāja) was born a crest-jewel among princes, named Vallabharāja, who astonished the circle of the earth by his bold deeds. Densely dark smoke, rising from the empire of the Mālava king, who quaked on hearing of his marching, indicated the spread of the fire of his anger."

Merutuṅga also corroborates this event by stating that the king died of smallpox, while investing the

¹ Merutuṅga gives an exactly similar account in his Pra-bandhacintāmaṇi. But according to him, the Malwa king, Muñja, humiliated the Caulukya Durlabharāja. This cannot be maintained in view of the fact that Durlabharāja's accession took place more than a decade after Muñja's death (Prabandha°, p. 30).

² Tasmād Vallabharāja ity abhidhayaḥ kṣmāpāla-cūḍāmanir
jajñe sāhasa-karma-nimīta-camatkāra-kṣamā-maṇḍalo
yat-kopānala-jṛmbhitam piśunayā tat-samprayāna-śruti
-kṣubhyan-Mālava-bhūpa-cakra-vikasan-mālīnya

-dhūmodgamāḥ ।

Read-nirmita° ; piśunayatyetatprayāṇa°.

(E. I., Vol. I, p. 297, v. 7.)

fortifications of Dhārā, in the country of Mālava.¹ Arisimpha's "Sukṛta-saṃkirtana"² and Jayasimpha's "Sukṛta-kīrtti-kallolīnī"³ celebrate this fact as a victory of Vallabharāja over the Malwa king. The Malwa king, referred to by all these authorities, was evidently Bhoja.

Hemacandra also relates⁴ Bhoja's encounter with Durlabharāja (1010-1022 A. D.), the immediate successor of Vallabharāja. On this occasion, the cause of the quarrel is described as quite different from that which induced Vallabharāja to invade Malwa. It is narrated that Mahendrarāja, the king of Nadūladeśa (Nadol), arranged a "Svayamvara" assembly, for the selection of a bridegroom for his sister, Durlabha-devī. Besides Durlabharāja, the king of Gujarat, the rulers of Aṅgadeśa, of Kāśī, of Ujjayinī, of Kurudeśa, of Mathurādeśa and of Andhradeśa were present in the assembly. From among them all, the princess selected the king of Gujarat as her future husband. This made the other chiefs extremely jealous, and later, when the bride and bridegroom were proceeding towards Paṭṭana (Anhilwar), they fell upon them and attacked them murderously. But fortunately their malice was frustrated by the powerful Gujarat army, to which the Rājā of Aṅgadeśa is said to have submitted, while, of his companions, the Rājā of Malwa threw down his weapons, the Rājā of Hūnadeśa took to flight, the Mathurārāja left the battle-field to call to his assistance the Turuṣkas and the mountaineers,

¹ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 29.

² Sarga II, v. 13.

³ Yaḥ śrī-Mālava-bhūpa-bhāla-phalaka-prasveda-bindu-cchala-
-pratyagra-prathita-prasasti-vikasad-dor-vikramopakramaḥ ||

(Sukṛta-kīrtti-kallolīnī, v. 32.)

⁴ Dvyāśraya, Sarga VII, pp. 547 ff.

the Rājā of Andhradeśa was wounded, and the Rājās of Kuru and Kāśī fled away disgraced. After this victory Durlabharāja marched to his capital in great triumph with his newly-won bride.

The Rājā of Malwa, referred to above, was, in all probability, Bhoja. The Nadol king, Mahendra, who is mentioned in the Sundha hill-inscription¹ as Mahindu, was a contemporary of both Durlabha and Bhoja.² Though there is no chronological inaccuracy, the story seems to be an imaginary one.

Hemacandra does not enlighten us with any information regarding Bhoja's fight with Bhīma, the successor of Durlabharāja. But we have ample authentic evidence to prove that they were, for a long time, at enmity with each other. Merutuṅga informs us³ that at first there was a close alliance between these two monarchs, but, later on, Bhoja renewed hostilities by waging a war of aggression against the Anhilwar government. Once, while the country of Gujarat was on the verge of famine owing to the want of rain, he made extensive preparations to invade it. Bhīma's agent, Dāmara, succeeded in averting the danger by a diplomatic move. But this only postponed the immediate outbreak of hostilities, and subsequent events enabled Bhoja to carry out his original project of invading the kingdom of the Cauḷukyas. On one occasion, Bhīma proceeded to the Punjab, and, crossing the lower Indus, attacked Sind.⁴ The king of that country, Hammuka, was not

¹ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 71.

² Mahendra's predecessor, Balirāja, was a contemporary of Muñja (A. D. 972-993). This places the reign of Mahendra in the early part of the 11th century A. D.

³ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 41.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 46-47.

strong enough to withstand the army of the Cauḷukyas, and submitted to the invaders. But while Bhīma was thus acquiring high distinction in the north-west by the display of his military qualities, his kingdom of Gujarat was threatened by an invasion of the Paramāras. Merutuṅga tells us¹ that, taking advantage of his absence from Gujarat at the time when he was fighting in Sind, Bhoja despatched his general, Kulacandra, to ravage Anhilwar. Kulacandra sacked the imperial city, sowed shell-money at the gate of the clock-tower of the royal palace, and extorted a record of victory from the government. The loss to the Cauḷukyas was so great that the "sacking of Kulacandra" has passed into a proverb. On his return to Malwa, he was severely blamed by Bhoja, in whose opinion he ought to have sown charcoal. The above report of Merutuṅga is not corroborated in detail by any other authority. Bhoja's victory over Bhīma is described by the Udayapur praśasti.

After his return from Sind, Bhīma seems to have set himself entirely to the destruction of the power of Bhoja. Since the conquest of Mount Abu by Muṅja, the princes of a junior branch of the main Paramāra family had been conducting its administration. Probably as a preliminary to his attack on the central government of Dhārā, Bhīma directed his forces against Bhoja's feudatory, Dhandhu, the then Paramāra ruler of Abu. Dhandhu was no match for the vast Cauḷukya army, and, being hard pressed, fled to Malwa to the protection of Bhoja.² Mount Abu was easily conquered by Bhīma, who then incorporated it into his own kingdom.³ A distinguished personage, named Vimala, was appointed

¹ Prabandha° p. 46 ; Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 163-64.

² E. I., Vol. IX, p. 151.

³ Ibid.

to govern the province as his viceroy, who built there a temple of Ādinātha in Vikrama samvat 1088 = 1031 A. D. ¹

The loss of Abu by Dhandhu evidently implied the loss of control over it by the Paramāras of Malwa. Hence Bhoja did not allow the incident to pass unnoticed. He took up the cause of Dhandhu, and strained every nerve to recover the lost province. Bhīma was eventually forced to withdraw, and the authority of the Paramāras was re-established there. A general description of Bhoja's glorious victory over this caulikya king is given in the Udayapur praśasti. ² Though at present there is no direct evidence to prove that he wrested Mount Abu from the Caulukyas, the fact that Dhandhu's son and successor, Pārnapāla, was ruling over it in the middle of the 11th century A. D., quite independently of Gujarat, ³ leads us to that conclusion. It was quite impossible for either Dhandhu or Pārnapāla to recover their paternal throne from Bhīma without external aid.

The latter part of Bhoja's reign was as unhappy and inglorious as those of his predecessors Muñja and Sindhurāja. Incessant wars with his neighbours wore out his military strength, and it was further weakened by the terrible blow inflicted on it by the Karpāta king, Someśvara, shortly after 1044 A. D. Someśvara, as has been said already, ravaged Malwa, plundered its capital, and forced Bhoja to flee. After this, the country was exposed to the occasional attacks of marauding bands of foreign soldiers. The extent of lawlessness that prevailed there during this period can well be estimated from the narrative of Merutunga. It is said that, ⁴ on one

¹ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 151.

² Ibid., Vol. I, p. 235.

³ Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 11.

⁴ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 73-75.

occasion, when Bhoja went to pay his devotions to his family goddess in the outskirts of the city of Dhārā, he was attacked by a roving band of Gujarati soldiers, and, being taken unawares by this unexpected incident, immediately galloped back to the city. As he was passing through the main gate, two Gujarati cavalymen, named Ālūya and Akolūya, blocked his way, but nothing untoward happened and he escaped unhurt.

This disordered state of things came at length to its logical conclusion. Bhoja grew old, and his days were numbered. There was no one in the royal family strong enough to control the situation. And just at this critical moment, says Merutunga, Bhīma entered into an alliance with the Kalacuri Karna for the invasion of Malwa. It was stipulated in their agreement that, in case of victory, they should divide the conquered territory between them in equal shares. The allied forces advanced towards Malwa under the leadership of the two most eminent generals of the age. In this difficult position, Bhoja, though dejected and disheartened, made all possible arrangements for a suitable defence. Unfortunately, however, he was overcome by a bodily malady, and died in the midst of the war. His successor, Jayasimha, could not withstand the onslaught of the attacking forces, and surrendered to them.

The whole kingdom of the Paramāras now lay prostrate before Bhīma and Karna, who marched triumphantly into the royal city of Dhārā.

The above account given by Merutunga finds corroboration, in its main outlines, in many ancient records. The Vadnagar praśasti¹ of the reign of the

1 Bhīmo 'pi dviṣatām sadā prapayinām bhogyatvam-Asedivān
Kṣoṇi-bhāram idam babhāra nṛpati(h) Śrī-Bhīmadevo
nṛpaḥ ।

Cauḷukya Kumārapāla states that Bhīma was terrible to his enemies and loving to his friends. "What wonder was there that his horses, supremely skilled in accomplishing the five paces (called dhārā), quickly gained Dhārā, the capital of the emperor of Mālava?" Someśvara in his Kīrti-kaumudī says that ¹ Bhīma vanquished Bhoja, king of Dhārā, and spared his life. The Sukṛta-samkīrtana ² narrates Bhoja's defeat at the hand of Bhīma. Jayasimhadeva records that ³ before the greatness of Bhīma the arm of Bhoja faded away like the lotus. Meruṭunga further tells us that ⁴ after the conquest of Malwa, Karna incorporated the whole of it into his own kingdom, without giving any share to Bhīma. But the Cauḷukya king, through his agent, Dāmara, forced the Kalacuri chief to surrender to him a golden shrine and an image of Śiva. Hemacandra mentions nothing about the battle between Bhoja and Bhīma, but partly corroborates the above statement of Meruṭunga by relating that Karna defeated Bhoja, king of Mālava, and, being hard pressed by Bhīma's agent, Dāmodara, surrendered to him the "maṇḍapikā", which he took from Bhoja. ⁵

Thus ended the long career of Bhoja, admittedly a king of superior merit and rare valour. There is no doubt that he had to pass through many vicissitudes, yet the fact that he was a military leader of a high order admits

Dhārā-paṃcaka-sādhanaika-caturais tad-vajibhiḥ sādhitā
Kṣipraṃ Mālava-cakravartti-nagarī Dhāreti ko vismayāḥ ||
(E. I., Vol. I, p. 297, v. 9.)

1 Sarga II, vv. 16-18.

2 Ibid., vv. 17-20.

3 Kumārapāla-carita, v. 34.

4 Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 74-75.

5 Dvyāśraya, Sarga IX, v. 57, p. 692.

of no question. The power of his mighty arm was felt by the Karmāṭas and Śilāhāras on the south, the Cedis on the east, and the Cauḷukyas on the west. His valiant soldiers made a triumphant march through Kanauj and Ajmer on the north. Merutuṅga relates that¹ when Bhoja went out for conquests

"The Coḷa king enters the bosom of the sea, the Andhra king repairs to a hole in a mighty mountain ;

"The king of Karmāṭa does not wear his turban, the king of Gujarat frequents the mountain torrents ;

"Cedi, that warlike monarch, flickers with weapons ; the king of Kānyakubja is here bent double."

"The bards sang before the king

"O Bhoja, all the kings are distracted with the burden of the fear of the advance of thy army only.

"On the floor of thy prison, the angry wrangle about place on which to lay their beds,

"Has increased in the night among these mutual rivals who thus dispute,

"The king of Koṅkaṇa sleeps in the corner, Lāṭa near the door, Kalinga in the courtyard ;

"You are a new arrival, Kośala ; my father also used to abide on this level spot.'....."

This description, though poetic in expression, contains a great deal of truth. A brief survey of the king's military career will show that he came into conflict with almost all the chiefs referred to in the above verse. His successes in the early years of his reign were sweeping, and put him into possession of vast territories.

Great as were Bhoja's military successes, his attainments in the peaceful arts are even more to be admired. His versatile mind did not limit its activity only to the business of war ; it was directed also towards building

up in Malwa an ideal kingdom. Schools were established for the proper education of his subjects. ¹ Sufficent emoluments and bounties were granted to those who devoted their lives to the cultivation of literary science. He himself was a great poet, and spent his days in the company of erudite scholars. ² He was beloved by all the literary men of his age, and his unbounded liberality gave them fresh encouragement to pursue their work. The great poet Bilhana lamented his failure to meet with him, and felt it in the very core of his heart. This he expressed through the following verse, in the *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*. ³

“Assuming a voice in the cooing of the pigeons that nested on the lofty turrets of her gates, Dhārā, as it were, cried piteously in disguise ; ‘Bhoja is my king. He, forsooth, is none of the vulgar princes. Woe is to me !’ Why didst thou not come into his presence ?”

Bhoja’s activities in the field of architecture also deserve special notice. The *Udayapur praśasti* ⁴ credits him with the building of a large number of temples. To-day very few remains of his extensive work can be traced, owing to the fact that, since the final conquest of Malwa by the Moslems, a large number of ancient Hindu temples have been converted into mosques by the new rulers.

¹ Vide post, Chapter VIII.

² Ibid.

³ Bhojaḥ kṣmā-bhṛt sa khalu na khalais tasya sām̐yam
narendrais

tat-pratyakṣam kim iti bhavatā nāgataṁ hā hatāsmi |

Yasya dvāroḍḍamara-śikhara kroḍa-pārāvatānāṁ

nāda-vyājad iti sakaruṇaṁ vyāja-hāreva Dhāḥ ||

(*Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, Sarga XVIII, v. 96.)

⁴ E. I., Vol. I, p. 238, v. 20 ; vide post, Chapter VIII.

Malwa enjoyed a happy existence during this period. The people passed their days in joy and merriment. Firishta tells us that, ' "twice yearly Raja Bhoja kept a great feast which lasted forty days, during which all the most celebrated dancers and singers of Hindoostan being assembled, he distributed food and wine ; and at the end of the feast new clothes and ten miskals were presented to each guest."

Bhoja was well known for his munificence and liberality. In his Ujjain plate¹ he lays down the following maxim, which seems to have been the motto of his life :

"Of wealth, which is as fleeting as a flash of lightning or a bubble of water, there are two good fruits or uses, and only two : one is its employment in charities and the other is the maintenance thereby of other men's fame."

All this speaks for the broadness of his mind. As a conqueror, as a poet, and as a builder of architecture, he deserves a high place among the sovereigns of ancient India. As a benevolent monarch he had hardly any parallel. He left behind him an abiding impression that survives even to this day.

¹ Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, Introduction, p. lxxvi,

² I. A., Vol. VI, p. 55.

CHAPTER V.

FROM JAYASIMHA TO JAYAVARMAN

It has been seen in the foregoing chapter that Bhoja fell ill, and died suddenly in the midst of his war with the combined forces of the Kalacuris and the Caulukyas. His enemies captured the imperial city of Dhārā, and held it for some time by their superior force. Jayasimha, Bhoja's successor, had no chance of regaining his throne with the petty resources at his disposal, unless he could secure adequate reinforcements from outside. During this period Someśvara I of Karnaṭa, who commanded a vast military force, was the only king who could render any effective assistance to him in this difficulty; and Jayasimha, therefore, putting aside all racial jealousies and family pride, sought his aid.¹ Though the old sore caused by the constant enmity between the Cālukyas and the Paramāras was still unhealed, Someśvara deemed it politic to take up the cause of the dethroned Paramāra chief. He probably thought that the extinction of the Paramāra government in Malwa would rather help his two neighbours to strengthen their arms, which might in the near future be raised against himself. Karna had already sent his general, Vapullaka,² to make conquests for him to the south of the Narmada, and this valiant officer within a short space of time, scored a great success by the conquest of the Śvetapāda country (between the years 1051 and 1061 A. D.), and of the province of Lāṭa.³ It was quite apparent that the next victim of his attack would be the Cālukya kingdom of

¹ Vikramādityadeva-carita, Sarga III, v. 67.

² Memoirs A. S. I., No. 23, p. 132.

³ Ibid.

the Deccan. Someśvara, therefore, sent his son, Vikramāditya, a distinguished general, with a large army to help the cause of Jayasimha. After a hard contest the Cālukya prince succeeded in routing Karṇa and Bhīma, and drove them from the Land of Malwa, establishing Jayasimha once more on his throne.¹ Thus, after suffering a temporary collapse, the Paramāra government reasserted itself, though bereft of its pristine glory.

JAYASIMHA I

Two inscriptions of Jayasimha's reign have been discovered.

(i) The Mandhata plates² were issued from the royal camp itself at Dhārā, on the 13th of the dark half of Āśāḍha of the year Sam 1112, corresponding to 1055 A.D. Jayasimha records in it the grant of the village Bhīma of the Maktula (group of) forty-two in the Pūrṇapathaka maṇḍala, for the maintenance of the Brahmans of the pattaśālā at the holy Amareśvara. Of the localities, Amareśvara is evidently the modern place of pilgrimage of the same name near the island of Mandhata, on the south bank of the Narmada, in the Nimar District. As for Pūrṇapathaka maṇḍala, I suggest that it was a province bounded by the Purna, a tributary of the Tapti river. The rest of the localities cannot be identified.

(ii) The Panhera inscription³ was issued by Jayasimha's feudatory, Maṇḍalika, who had been governing the country of Vāgaḍa. It is dated V.S. 1116 (1059 A.D.).

1 Sa Mālavenduṃ śaraṇaṃ praviṣṭaṃ akaṇṭhake sthāpayati
sma rājye |
kanyā-pradāna-cchalataḥ kṣitīśaḥ sarvasva-dānaṃ baha-
vo 'sya cakruḥ ||

(Vikramāṅkadeva-carita, Sarga III, v. 67.)

2 E. I., Vol. III, p. 46.

3 A. S. I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 19. (unpublished.)

WAR WITH KANHA.

Sometime before 1059 A. D. Jayasimha had to encounter a hostile force, which was led by a general named Kanha. He, however, succeeded in routing the enemy with the help of his feudatory Maṇḍalika.¹ The Panhera inscription² relates that Maṇḍalika captured in battle the commander Kanha with all his horses and elephants, and handed them over to Jayasimha. It is not yet known whose military officer was Kanha.

INVASION OF VENGI AND WAR WITH THE COLAS.

Jayasimha, having regained his throne with the assistance of the Cālukyas, became a staunch adherent to their government. In the sixth and seventh decades of the eleventh century A. D., the Cālukyas were in constant war with their southern neighbours.³ Vikramāditya (VI) was at that time the governor of Banavāsi, and was deputed by his father to protect the interests of his empire in the south. The Eastern Cālukya Rājarāja, the king of Vengi, died in 1062 A. D. His son Rājendra II (later on Kulottuṅga Cola I) was too young to govern his kingdom. Vikramāditya intended to avail himself of this opportunity of conquering Vengi and organised a vast army for that purpose. Jayasimha, who was indebted to Vikramāditya for his past services, seems to have joined him in this expedition in order to help his cause. The allied armies advanced towards Vengi and threatened the Eastern Cālukyas. The young

¹ Vide post, chapter X.

² A. S. I., 1916-17, p. 19.

³ Ancient India, by K. S. Aiyangar, pp. 120 ff., Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 441 ; S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 193.

Rājendra could not resist their onslaught, and Veṅgi fell in the hand of Vikramāditya and Jayasiṃha. In that predicament Vijayāditya VII, the younger brother of the deceased Rājarāja, took up the cause of his nephew, and appealed to Coḷa Vīrarājendra (A. D. 1062 – 1069) for assistance. The Coḷa king responded to his prayer and marched towards Veṅgi at the head of a large army. He confronted his enemies on the bank of the Kistna near Bezwada (Viśaiyavāḍai). In the action that followed the Karṇāṭas and the Paramāras were severely worsted, and the brother of Jayasiṃha with many other generals lost their lives. Veṅgi was reconquered by the Coḷas, and Vīrarājendra appointed Vijayāditya to rule it on behalf of Rājendra Coḷa.¹ The Tiruvengadu inscription² of the second year of the reign of Vīrarājendra tells us that he defeated the army sent into Veṅgai nāḍu by Vikramāditya. The Koruvur inscription³ of the fourth year of his reign records that he despatched the (banner of) the ferocious tiger into all directions and cut off the beautiful heads, surrounded by garlands (won) on battlefields, of Vāran, of the Kerala, (who wore) large ankle rings, and of the younger brother of Ja(na)nātha of Dhārā. The Manimangalam inscription⁴ of the fifth year (1067 A. D.) of his reign gives us a more detailed information. It states that 'having moved (his camp), he declared—'we shall not return without regaining the good country of Veṅgai, which (we have formerly) subdued. You,' (who are) strong, come and defend (it) if (you) are able!'—That army

1 S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 193.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid, p. 37.

4 Ibid., p. 69.

5 This is addressed to the kings who held Veṅgi.

which had for its chiefs Jananātha, the dandanāyaka Rājamayan, whose mast elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mupparaśan'.

Jananātha, referred to above, is in all probability Jayasimha, who was at that time on the throne of Dhārā.¹ The dandanāyaka Rājamayan and Mupparaśan, with whom Jananātha joined in their expedition against Veṅgi, seem to have been officers of Vikramāditya VI.

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS AND THE KARNĀTAS.

In the latter part of his reign Jayasimha had to encounter another catastrophe which again swept away his throne, and overthrew the Paramāra government. After the death of the Caḷukya Someśvara I, his son Bhuvanaikamalla Someśvara II ascended the throne of Kalyani in 1069 A. D. He soon entered into a quarrel with his younger brother Vikramāditya.² When the Caḷukya empire was threatened with a fratricidal war, Jayasimha turned against Someśvara II, and probably intrigued with Vikramāditya for the overthrow of the Caḷukya king. This seems to have provoked Someśvara to declare war against Malwa. He made an alliance with Karṇa (A. D. 1063-1094), the successor of Bhīma I, on the throne of Gujarat for the destruction of the

¹ In the ancient Tamil records the northern names were often distorted to a considerable extent. Kaliṅgattu-paraṇi mentions Vikramāditya VI as Virudarāja (I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 332). He is described in the Karuvur inscription (S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 37) as Vikkalan along with Jananātha of Dhārā, and in the Manimangalam inscription as Vikki (ibid, p. 56, l. 3). Jayasimha, the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI, is mentioned in the Tiruvallam inscription as Śiṅgaṇaṇ (ibid. p. 118).

² Vikramāṇkadeva-carita, Introduction, p. 33, Edited by Bühler,

Paramāra sovereignty, and in order to help him in his military operation despatched his general, Gaṅga Udayāditya, and his feudatory, Hoysala Eṛeyaṅga with a large contingent. Jayasimha made a strenuous effort to defend his kingdom against this incursion of Karna and the Karnaṭas but utterly failed. In the fierce battle that followed he lost his life, and Malwa was easily conquered by the invaders. The Caulukyas together with the Karnaṭas took possession of the Imperial city of Dhārā, and there unfurled again the glorious banner of victory. The Nagpur Prasasti¹ gives an account of Jayasimha's death in the battle, and the conquest of Mālava by the combined forces of Karna and the Karnaṭas. An inscription from Sudi describes Someśvara II as "a blazing fire to the ocean that is the race of the Mālavyas". A stone inscription from Balagami,² dated Śaka 993 = 1071 A. D., reports of the dandanāyaka Udayāditya that, 'completely defeating the Mālava king who had raised his enmity, and all those who had secretly conspired against the throne and against the master, and seizing their property and women laden with jewels he handed them over to his emperor (Someśvara II)'. An inscription,³ dated 1100 A. D., of the reign of Eṛeyaṅga, records that he defeated a host of kings between the Hima mountain and Setu at the bidding of the Caḷukya emperor. "With the hot rage in Nannuge's breast as the witness of fire, and by means of Dhārā (otherwise, with the pouring of water) he suddenly wedded the goddess of Valour—the brave Poysala king. As the maṇḍapa was consumed in the burning of the

¹ E. I., Vol. II, p. 185.

² Mysore Inscription, p. 164, P. S. O. C. A., No. 160.

³ E. C., Vol. V, AK, No. 120a, p. 152. For Eṛeyaṅga's date, vide post.

Khāṇḍava (forest), so the fire of the Poysala king's glory sprang up in the Vindhya mountains and seized the city of Udhapuram of his enemies."

Udhapuram may be the same as Udayapur, in the Gwalior State, Central India.

The Shimoga Taluq inscription,¹ dated about 1112 A.D., of the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana states that his father Eṇyaṅga was a right hand to the Cālukya king. "Trampling down the Mālava army, he did not spare Dhārā, but burnt and scattered it." Another inscription,² dated 1161 A. D., of the same prince records that "while Cālukya was looking on, Eṇyaṅga without effort plundered the Mālava king's hill fort, which was too strong for the Cālukyas." A third inscription,³ dated 1164 A. D., of the reign of Narasimha, registers the fact that "Eṇyaṅga subdued with his army the great Dhārā, the chief place in the Mālava kingdom, and thus conferred victory on (his) emperor."

The Belur copper-plate⁴ of the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana, dated 1117 A. D., records that Eṇyaṅga, in a conquest of the North, captured Dhārā, the stronghold of the lords of Mālava, which had been rendered prosperous by king Bhoja. An inscription,⁵ dated 1159 A. D., of the Hoysala Narasimha I, the successor of Viṣṇuvardhana, corroborates this fact by stating that Eṇyaṅga

1 E. C., Vol. VII, Sh, No. 64, p. 24.

2 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 163, AK, No. 117.

3 Ibid., Vol. IV, part II, p. 119.

4 Dhārā-dhāro bhuja-balavatāṃ Mālavādhisvarāṇaṃ
Bhojenaujo-vijita-ripuṇā varddhitā yā prasiddhā |
sābūd āpośanam ahita-bhū-bhojane yasya pūrvvaṃ
Kauberāṇa-vijaya-samaye varṇyate kim sa vīraḥ |
(Ibid., Vol. V, p. 26, Hn, No. 53.)

5 Ibid., Vol. II, No. 349.

burnt in a moment Dhārā, the capital of the Mālava king.

As regards the Cauḷukya Karna, the Pṛthvirāja-vijaya¹ tells us that he conquered Mālava. Arisimha reports that² Karna defeated the Mālava king and his army, and despoiled him of an image of Nīlakantha (Śiva). Someśvara also relates about karna's conquest of Mālava. He narrates that³ 'when the territory of the king of

1 Sarga V.

2 Sukṛtasamkīrtana, Sarga II, v. 23.

Professor Kielhorn thinks that Karna, mentioned in the Nagpur praśasti, is the Kalacuri king of the same name (E. I., Vol. II, p. 181.). This is not corroborated by any evidence. If the subject is viewed in the light of the Pṛthvirāja-vijaya, Sukṛtasamkīrtana and Surathotsava, Karna's identification with the Cauḷukya king of the same name seems more plausible. But there is one apparent difficulty in accepting it quite unreservedly. Merutuṅga says that the Cauḷukya Karna ascended the throne in 1063 A. D. A fragmentary inscription, dated 1513 A. D. (J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 35), states that Udayāditya built the temple of Udayapur in V. S. 1116=1059 A. D. The record is very perfunctorily executed, and abounds in gross mistakes. If Udayāditya is supposed to have ascended the throne of Mālava, having defeated the Cauḷukya Karna, he cannot be taken to have ruled in 1059 A. D. as a sovereign lord, because Karna had not yet assumed the kingly power. This difficulty can be surmounted by assuming that Udayāditya built the Udayapur temple in 1059 A. D., when he was ruling his paternal territory apparently from Udayapur. That he did not assume the sovereignty of Malwa in 1059 A. D. can be gathered from the Panhera inscription, which reports that at that time Jayasimha was ruling over it.

3 Dhārādhiśa-purodhasā nija-nṛpa-kṣaṇīm vilokyākhilam
Cauḷukyākulitām tad-atyaya-kṛte kṛtyā kilotpāditaḥ |
mamtrair yasya tapasyataḥ pratibhātā tatraiva tam māntrikaṃ
śa samhṛtya taḍil-latā taruṃ iva kṣipraṃ prayātā kvacit ||
(Śurathotsava, kavi-praśasti, v. 20).

Dhārā was overrun by the Caulukyas, the former's chaplain called up by incantations an evil spirit for the destruction of his master's enemy. But Āma, the chaplain of Karna, succeeded by counter incantations in turning back the evil spirit against the conjuror, who was instantaneously killed by it.'

UDAYĀDITYA.

The Paramāras thus again lost their supremacy almost before they recovered from the shock they had received more than a decade previously. But in these dark days there was one ray of light on the eastern horizon, which gradually expanded, and dispersed all the black clouds from the sky of Malwa. Udayāditya, a scion of a junior branch of the Paramāras, stood gallantly for the liberation of his ancestral dominion. In those perilous hours he appealed to the Cāhamāna Durlabha III, the king of Śākambhari, for assistance. After the discomfiture of the Cāhamāna Viryarāma by Bhoja, a friendly relation seems to have been established between the houses of Śākambhari and Dhārā. Hence Durlabha lost no time in sending a cavalry force to the assistance of the Paramāras. Udayāditya thus being sufficiently re-inforced fell upon the combined forces of the Caulukyas and the Karnaṭas, and within a short time succeeded in regaining the country. The *Prthvirāja-vijaya* ¹ tells us that the Cāhamāna Durlabha

1 Malaven Odayādityenāsmād evāpyatonnatih
maṃdākinī hradād eva lebhe pūraṇam abdhinā || v. 76
sāraṅgākhyam turāṅgam sa dadau yasmai manojavam
na hy uccaiḥśravasam kṣīra-siṃdhor anyah prayacchati ||

v. 77

jigāya Gūrjaram Karṇam tamaśvam prāpya Mālavah
labdhānūruḥ stūryaratham(?) karoti vyoma-lamghanam ||

Sarga V, v. 78

The Nagpur inscription* makes matters clearer by stating that "when he (Bhoja) had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation, Udayāditya, became king. Uplifting the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna, who, joined by the Karnaṭas, was like the mighty ocean, he acted like the holy Boar."

1 Tatr-āditya-pratāpe gatavati sadanāṃ Svarggīṇāṃ
 Bhargga-bhakte
 vyaptā Dhāreva dhātṛī ripu-timira-bharair mmaula-lokas
 tadābhūt ।
 visrastāṃgo nihatyodbhaṭa-ripu-timiram khaḍga
 daṃḍāṃsu jālai—
 r anyo bhāsvān-iv-odyan-dyutim udita janātm

Odayāditya devaḥ ॥

(E. I., Vol. I, p. 236, V. 21; p. 238.)

2 Tasmin vāsava-va(ba)ndhutām upagate rāje ca kulyākule
magna-svāmini tasya va(ba)ndhur Udayādityo' bhavad
bhūpatiḥ ।

It is evident from the above verses that the authority of the Paramāras in Malwa, though it received a severe blow at the hand of its foreign enemies, was soon revived by a hero known as Udayāditya. He is described in the Udayapur praśasti as a relation of Bhoja. An inscription¹ from Udayapur, in Bhilsa, furnishes us with more detailed information regarding his pedigree. It relates that there was a prince named Sauravira, (Śūravira) a member of the Paramāra (Pāvara) family, who carved out a principality of his own in Mālava. He was learned, pious, liberal, valiant, and possessed of both his own and his enemies' armies. His son was Gondala, who was a receptacle of noble qualities, devoted to the Gods, a conqueror of his enemies, and famous for his own deeds. His son was Gyātā (Jñātā), whose son again was Udayāditya, the great destroyer of the enemy (ari-bala-mathana), who, having obtained the eastern territory, proceeded to the interior of Mālava,² which was formerly governed by his ancestors. The country was made glorious by him.³

yenoddhṛtya mahārṇṇavopama-milat-Karṇṇāṭa
 -Karṇṇa-pra (bhu)
 m urvvipāla-kadarthitām bhuvam imām śrīmad
 -Varāhāyi tam ||

(E. I., Vol. II, pp. 192, 185, v. 32.)

1 J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 549.

2 Mālave madhya-deśam gatvā sthānam prasidhiḥ.....

3 The inscription under review was discovered in the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple, and is edited in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IX, p. 547. The editor takes "Aribalamathana" as a proper name, and makes its possessor a successor of Gondala, omitting the name of Gyātā (Jñātā). He is further of opinion that Aribalamathana went to Mālava and recovered Madhyadeśa, which had formerly been governed by his ancestors, and was later on usurped by the inimical rājās. He was succeeded by his son, Udayāditya.

It follows from the above record that Udayāditya and his predecessors belonged to a junior branch of the Paramāra family. They seem to have been ruling as feudatories of the Imperial house of Dhārā, in the east of Malwa, at Udayapur, in Bhilsa. When Malwa was overrun by the combined forces of the Caulukyās and the Karmātas, and Jayasimha lost his life in battle against them, Udayāditya, as we have seen above, proved the saviour of the Paramāra kingdom, and entirely recovered it from the grip of the foreign armies. There was no other prince in the royal house of Dhārā strong enough to hold the reins of government in that difficult situation. Hence the royal power was entrusted to Udayāditya, whose claim so evidently superseded that of all others. A faint recollection of this event has been embodied in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, though in a somewhat altered version. It runs that 'Muñja gave thanks to God, welcomed

Mr. Hall contends that the word 'Sauravira', rightly Śūravira in the monument adverted to, is not the name of a king. Gondala is the first regal personage whom it notices. His son seems to be Gyātā, for which 'Pātā', has been printed; the vernacular corruption perhaps of 'Jñātā', nominative of Jñātṛ. Ari-bala-mathana, if such be the true reading, is an epithet of the doubtful 'Gyātā', and can by no possibility be a proper name. Udayāditya is represented as the son of the last; and he is distinctly stated to have been ruling in Sam 1116, or Śaka 981. (J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 35.) I agree with Mr. Hall in thinking that "Ari-bala-mathana" is not a proper name. But I am inclined to take it as an epithet of Udayāditya. If the record is studied in the light of the Udayapur praśasti and the Nagpur inscription, it must be maintained that Udayāditya and not Gyātā (Jñātā), rescued his ancestral dominion of Malwa and established his authority over it.

1 Translated by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 217.

Bhoja with much affection and appointed him his successor. When his son Jayacānd's reign was ended, none of the Poṇwār caste was found worthy to succeed. Jītpal, of the Toṇwar caste, who was one of the principal land-owners, was elected to the throne, and, thus, by the vicissitudes of fortune, the sovereignty passed into his family."

It is evident that Jayacānd, mentioned above, is identical with Jayasimha, and Jītpal is possibly the same as Udayāditya.

A number of inscriptions of Udayāditya's reign have been discovered. The Udayapur praśasti,¹ which has often been referred to above, is engraved on a slab of stone, and is now lying in front of the Nīlakanṭheśvara temple, at Udayapur, in Bhilsa. It is highly important and interesting, inasmuch as it furnishes us with much information of great significance for the reconstruction of the early history of the Paramāras of Malwa. It is the only available record which supplies a complete genealogy of this family of rulers from Upendra to Bhoja. It is undated, and seems to have been issued during the early part of the king's reign.

Two short inscriptions,² one of which is dated Sam 1137 = 1080 A. D., have been found in the temple of Nīlakanṭheśvara. Two more short inscriptions of his reign one in the "antarāla" of a temple at Un, in the Nimar District,³ and the other on a pillar attached to Bhoja's school at Dhārā,⁴ have been discovered.

1 E. I., Vol. I, p. 233.

2 I. A., Vol. XX, p. 83; Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey (Western circle), March, 1914, p. 66.

3 A. S. I., 1918-19, p. 17.

4 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 351.

A stone inscription¹ in Sarvasukhiyakothi at Jhalrapatan, in Jhalawar State, Rajputana, was executed in Sam 1143=1086 A. D., in the victorious reign of Udayāditya. It records that the Paṭṭakila Janna, the son of the Paṭṭakila Cāhila, who was born in the family of Tailika, built a temple of Śiva and a tank in Cirihiḷla between Cāḍāghaṇṣa Kūpikā and Vruvasaka. He promised to make an annual gift of four palas of oil and a lump of sweetmeat in the ceremony of Sendhavadeva. The inscription was engraved by the learned Harṣuka. As the record is engraved on a stone, there was less chance of its being carried any great distance away from its original situation. Hence the temple, which Janna built, seems to have been somewhere near Jhalrapatan. This locality was under the sway of the Paramāras of Dhārā even as late as the middle of the thirteenth century A. D.²

From the evidence of these inscriptions, it may fairly be inferred that the kingdom over which Udayāditya held sway extended at least up to Jhalrapatan on the north, Bhilsa on the east, and the Nimar District on the south. This proves that he succeeded in regaining almost the whole of the territory over which his predecessor Bhoja ruled in the latter part of his reign. The Bheraghat inscription of the Kalacuri Narasiṃha³ designates Udayāditya as the king of the province of Malwa, and the Karnbel inscription⁴ of the Kalacuri Jayasiṃha describes him as the lord of Dhārā.

¹ J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 241.

² Progress Report of the Archæological Survey (Western circle), 1913, p. 56.

³ *Mālava-maṇḍalādhi-nātho* Udayāditya. E. I., Vol. II, p. 12.

⁴ *Dhārādhi* Udayāditya. I. A., Vol. XVIII, p. 217.

Udayāditya was admittedly a military commander of a high order. But our information as to his further warlike activities is not very extensive.

After the restoration of peace in Malwa, Udayāditya had to encounter another invasion of the Cālukyas. Someśvara II was overthrown by his younger brother, Vikramāditya VI, in 1076 A. D. Vikramāditya, who was an ally of Jayasimha, turned an enemy of Udayāditya. He seems to have led a successful campaign against Malwa, shortly after his accession to the throne. An inscription,¹ dated 1077 A. D., from Shikarpur Taluq, records that "he was the source of a great fever of terror to the king of Dhārā."

These reverses, however did not materially disturb the peaceful continuance of the Paramāra rule.

Udayāditya spent the remaining years of his reign in peace and happiness. He had a profound veneration for men of letters. The educational institute, established by Bhoja at Dhārā, flourished under his careful supervision. He engraved charts, containing alphabets and rules of grammar, for the guidance of the students, on the walls of Bhoja's school at Dhārā, and also in the Chauberdera Temple at Un, in the Nimar District.² He declared that they were placed there for the gratification of poets and princes.³

Udayāditya showed unflagging zeal also in the building of architectural monuments. He laid the foundation of the city of Udayapur in Bhilsa, and erected there the great temple of Nīlakantheśvara. An inscription from Udayapur⁴ records that this temple was built

1 Dhārā-nātha-mahā-bhaya-jvara-karam.....

(E. C., Vol. VII, Sk., No. 124, p. 171.)

2 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 350.

3 Ibid., p. 351.

4 J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 540.

by him in 1059 A. D., and was considered the most superb of its kind in the whole of India. Another inscription,¹ discovered in the same temple, credits him with the foundation of Udayapur, Udayeśvara, and Udayasamudra. Udayeśvara is perhaps the same as Nilakantheśvara. At present, Udayasamudra cannot be identified. It must have been a lake or a big tank in the vicinity of Udayapur. Udayāditya is reported to have erected many other temples, caused tanks to be excavated, performed religious ceremonies, and granted lands productive of gold and corn to the Brahmans.² It can hardly be doubted that some among the group of temples at Un, were his own contributions.³

Some gold coins of Udayāditya's reign have been found in the Central Provinces.⁴ Besides these, no other coins of the dynasty have yet been discovered.

It will be admitted by everyone that Udayāditya's career as a king was one of unique success. He came as a boon to the Paramāras in the day of their worst calamity. The most difficult and responsible task with which he was faced, was, amidst highly adverse circumstances, conducted by him to a successful issue. He restored peace and order, and an atmosphere suitable to the peaceful pursuit of the daily avocations of life. As a true successor to the throne of Muñja and Bhoja, he paid equal attention to the healthy advancement of the literary movement. The judicious care which he took for the furtherance of education is unique in its character. In the field of architecture his

¹ Progress Report of the Archæological Survey (Western circle), 1914, p. 66.

² J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 540.

³ A. S. I., 1918-19, pp. 17-18.

⁴ J. A. S. B., 1920, Plate XIII, No. 2.

achievements were marvellous. The great Nilakanthesvara temple still stands to testify to his greatness. Thus the work set on foot by Muñja and Bhoja for erecting Malwa into an ideal state was in full operation during the reign of Udayāditya, and did not flag for want of royal patronage.¹

The *Rās Mālā*² relates that 'Oodayāditi' (Udayāditya) had two wives, one belonging to the Solunkhee (Solanki) dynasty and the other to the Wāghelā clan. By the Solanki queen he had a son named Jug Dev (Jagaddeva), and by the Wāghelā queen another son called Rindhuwul (Ranadhavala). Prince Jug Dev was an intrepid warrior, and his fame as a general spread all over India. He had three wives. The first was the daughter of Raja Rāj, the Dāk Chowra king of Took-Todā, which, since Raja Rāj himself was blind, had been under the regency of his son Beerj (Vīrya). The second was the daughter of Sidh Rāj Jesingh Dev (Jayasimha Siddharāja), the king of Gujarat, and the third was a princess of the house of Rājā Phool of Bhojnagar. Rindhuwul married the daughter of Gumbheer (Gambhīra), a chief of Gord. Udayāditya, influenced by his Wāghelā queen, made Rindhuwul his heir apparent.

¹ In the middle of the 11th century A. D., a family of princes had been ruling in Jhansi, in the United Provinces. An inscription on the wall of a ruined fort in that locality records that the son of Satyāvati, a prince of this family, was in some way connected with the rule of Udayāditya, the Lord of Avanti. The record is in a most fragmentary state, and it is difficult to determine the nature of their relationship. (E. I., Vol. I, p. 216.) It is very likely that the prince of Jhansi rendered military assistance to Udayāditya, in his war with the Caulukyās of Gujarat.

² Forbes' *Rās Mālā*, edited by H. G. Rawlinson, 1924, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.

Jug Dev, through the jealousy of his step-mother, was reduced to poverty. He left Malwa, and, in order to make a living, accepted military service under Sidh Rāj in Gujarat. Within a very short time he became a favourite of his master on account of his valour and faithfulness. On one occasion he sacrificed his son, and offered his own life and that of his wife to ensure the safety of Sidh Rāj from some impending peril. Some time afterwards, learning that Sidh Rāj was making preparations to invade Malwa, he resigned his office and left for Dhārā in order to defend his native country. He was received with great affection by his father, who subsequently appointed him his successor superseding Rindhuvul. Soon afterwards Oodayāditi died, and Jug Dev ascended the throne of Malwa, which he occupied for fifty-two years.

This is the sum and substance of the story of Jug Dev, as narrated by the Gujarat chroniclers. Apart from its mythological character, it is chronologically inaccurate. Jug Dev could not have ruled for fifty-two years, since Udayāditya's second son, Naravarman, began his reign some time before 1094 A. D. According to the early Jaina Chroniclers, Jayasimha-Siddharāja ascended the throne in 1094 A. D. If this is true, and as there is no valid reason for disbelieving it, he could not have been a contemporary of Udayāditya. But notwithstanding these discrepancies, it cannot be denied that Udayāditya had a son named Jagaddeva, who, for some time, became the king of Malwa. Merutuṅga,¹ though he mentions the name of this prince, makes no allusion to his pedigree. According to him, the prince entered the military service of Paramārdin,

1. Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 186, cf. Kīrtikaumudī, Sarga II, v. 99.

king of Kuntala, and was highly honoured by the caṣṭukya Siddharāja. The Paramāra Arjunavarman, in his *Rasikasamjivini*,¹ states that his predecessor, Jagaddeva, was very handsome and that his beauty was described by Nācirāja. Two Hoysala inscriptions² state that, in the latter part of the eleventh century A. D., Jagaddeva was the king of Mālava.

The Belava inscription of Bhojavarman,³ the king of Eastern Bengal, states that Jagadvijayamalla was the son of Udayi (Udayāditya), who was a great conqueror in this world. Dr. Haraprasad Śāstrī rightly suggests that Jagadvijayamalla of the above inscription is the same as Jagaddeva of Malwa.⁴

Udayāditya had connections with many of the neighbouring rulers. His daughter, Śyāmala Devī, was married to Vijayasimha, son of Vairisimha and grandson of Hamsapāla, of the Gobhila (Guhila) family.⁵ Vijayasimha is mentioned as the ruler of Prāgvāta and was

1 Yathāsmat-pūrvaja-rūpa-varṇane Nācirājasya
satrā-ā iva sālāsā iva lasad-garvā ivādrī iva
vyājihmā iva lajjitā iva paribhrāntā ivārtā iva
tvad-rūpe nipatānti kutra na Jagaddeva prabho

subhruvām

vātāvartana-nartit-otpala-dala-droṇī-druho dṛṣṭayah || p. 8

2 Vide post p. 149. Prof. Kielhorn takes Jagaddeva and the Mālava lord, referred to in one of these inscriptions, as two different kings (K. S. I, No. 409). But the verse in question clearly states that Jagaddeva was the lord of Mālava. (Ep. Carnatica, Vol II, p. 168, No. 349.) Jagddeva is described as the emperor of Mālava in another Hoysala grant. (Vide post p. 149 fn. 2.)

3 E. I., Vol. XII, p. 40, v. 10 ; J. A. S. B., Vol. X, p. 125.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 12, v. 21 ; I. A., Vol. XVIII, p. 217, lines 15-16.

evidently a king of Mewar.¹ From the union of Vijaya-simha and Śyāmala Devī was born a daughter, Alhaṇa Devī, who was given in marriage to the Kalacuri Gayakarna (1115-1151 A.D.). Narasimha and Jayasimha were sons of Gayakarna and Alhaṇa Devī.²

Udayāditya closed his reign shortly after 1086 A. D.³ The tradition runs that Jug Deb was his immediate successor to the throne, but a contemporary Paramāra record states that Lakṣmadeva became king of Malwa after Udayāditya's death.⁴ Jagaddeva's name is not mentioned in any Paramāra inscription. But that he ruled in Malwa for some years, about this time, is borne out by the two Hoysala inscriptions referred to above. In these circumstances it may therefore be conjectured that the names Jagaddeva and Lakṣmadeva were those of one and the same person.

LAKṢMADEVA

The Nagpur stone inscription⁵ is the main evidence to throw light upon the career of this monarch. It records that, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, he granted two villages in the Vyāpura maṇḍala, probably for the maintenance of a temple. The date of this grant cannot be definitely determined, as there were eight solar

1 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 346.

2 E. I., Vol. II, p. 12. The tradition runs that "Raedhuwul Puar, son (or descendant) of Udayāditi of Dhār, had three daughters, one of whom he betrothed to Jeipāl (Ujje Pāl) Solunkhi, son of Sidh Rāj, another to Beeji Rāj Bhaṭṭi and the third to the Rājā of Cheetore."

(Tod's Rājasthān, ii, 1203.)

3 J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 241 ; A. S. I., 1923-24, p. 135.

4 E. I., Vol. II, p. 192.

5 Ibid., p. 182.

eclipses between the years 1087 and 1094 A. D.¹ As the inscription is engraved on an ordinary piece of stone, which was evidently used for building a temple, it was less likely to have been carried any great distance from its original place. This makes it apparent that Vyāpura maṇḍala was situated somewhere near Nagpur. Nagpur is also known as Vyalapura, which leads Mr. Bal Gangadhar Śāstri to suggest its identification with Vyāpura.² The modern city of Nagpur was founded in the early years of the eighteenth century A. D., by the Rāja Bakht Buland.³ In ancient days the most important place in the district was Nandivardhana or Nāgardhana, the modern village of the same name, four miles south of Ramtek, which still contains huge remains of old forts and temples. The tradition goes that, in olden times Nandivardhana was an important settlement of the Paramāras. This is strongly corroborated by the present existence of a Ponwar caste in that locality. Hence it is quite probable that a portion of the Nagpur District formed part of the kingdom of the Paramāras of Malwa. Nandivardhana was included in the dominion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa. In 940 A. D., the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III granted to a Kanarese Brahman a village, in the District of Nāgapura-Nandivardhana.⁴ After the collapse of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire, its northern portion was taken possession of by the Paramāras, and its southern part was occupied by the Cālukyas. In the

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 A. D. 1087, 1st August | A. D. 1092, 9th May. |
| " " 1088, 20, July | " " 1093, 23, September |
| " " 1090, 24, November | " " 1094, 19, March |
| " " 1091, 21, May | |
- 2 J. Bo. Br., Vol. I, pp. 264-65.
 3 C. P. Gazetteer, Nagpur District, Vol. A, p. 314.
 4 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XVIII, p. 248. Deoli Plate,

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latter part of the tenth century A. D. there was a hard contest between Muñja and Tailapa II over the boundary of their territory in the Godavari District. After this, the Paramāras seem to have held sway over Nagpur until Vikramāditya VI annexed the southern part of it. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhādībha(म ?)daka, an immigrant from Latalaura, had been governing this newly conquered province in 1087 A. D., as a vassal of Vikramāditya.¹

WAR AGAINST BENGAL

The Nagpur stone inscription devotes nineteen verses to a record of the military excursions of Lakṣmadeva. His soldierly qualities were marvellous and unsurpassed. He went out with a large army for "digvijaya" like his neighbours, the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI and the Kalacuri Karna. Since the early years of the eleventh century A. D., the great Pāla empire had been declining into a state of insignificance, which encouraged many other ruling chiefs of Central and Southern India to fall upon it for riches and plunder. In the last quarter of the eleventh century A. D., a revolution, organised by the Kaivartas under Divvoka, broke out in Bengal, and resulted in the temporary overthrow of the Pāla supremacy in "Varendra-bhūmi" (Gauda or North Bengal.)² The king Rāmapāla (1077-1120 A. D.) succeeded with great difficulty in quelling the revolt and regaining his throne with the assistance of his feudatories.³ This imbroglio in the Pāla kingdom offered to Lakṣmadeva a very wide field for the display of his warlike activities. He entered

¹ E. I., Vol. III, p. 304 ; Sitabaldi inscription.

² *Baṅglar Itihāsa*, Vol. I, p. 277.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 281 ff.

Bengal at the head of a large army, and made a successful raid over it. It is said that in order to capture elephants, he first proceeded to Hari's quarter (i. e. the eastern quarter) and entered the town of the lord of Gauda.¹

WAR WITH THE KALACURIS OF TRIPURĪ

During this period, the Kalacuris of Tripurī also fell victims to Lakṣmadeva's attack. Jayasimha had succeeded in rescuing Malwa from the domination of the Kalacuri Karna. Karna was really instrumental in bringing disgrace and ignominy on the Paramāras in the middle of the eleventh century A. D. This left a deep wound in the pride of the Paramāras, notwithstanding the fact that they subsequently regained their former position ; and this wound Lakṣmadeva was now bent upon healing by paying off old scores against the Kalacuris. He advanced towards the Cedi country, and threatened to overthrow the Kalacuri government. Karna was now dead, and was succeeded by his son, Yaśahkarna (1072-1115 A. D.). Yaśahkarna was an intrepid warrior, and had acquired fame by his conquest of Campāranya.² But, to his discredit, he failed to withstand the attack of the Malwa army. His kingdom was overrun and his capital, Tripurī, was stormed by Lakṣmadeva, who next encamped on the bank of the Narmada, at the foot of the Vindhya hill, where his

1 Prayāti yasmin prathamam diśam harer jijhīrsayānanya
-samāna dantīnām |
yathāviśad Gauḍa-paṭeḥ puram dara(s tathā) śaśānke
sahasā puramdarah ||
(E, I., Vol. II, p. 186, v. 34.)

2 Ibid., p. 11.

elephants rested after the fatigue of the battle, bathing in the waters of the river. ¹

Lakṣmadeva is reported to have come into conflict with the armies of Aṅga and Kalinga. Verse 43 of the Nagpur inscription records that ² “even the troops of elephants of Aṅga and Kalinga, kindred to the elephants of the quarters, and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain-clouds, dark like herds of hogs kept for pastime,—even they had to sue for mercy, when they were bewildered by the union of the storm-wind with the powerful elephants belonging to the princes of his army.”

Aṅga comprised the modern Bhagalpur and Monghyr, in Bihar, and formed a part of Rāmapāla's territory. ³ Kalinga was the modern Northern Circars, a territory between Orissa and the Dravidian (Drāviḍa) country, bordering the sea. According to Mr. Cunningham, it did not extend beyond the Godavari on the south-west and the Gooliya branch of the Indravati river on the

1 Utsāhonnati-sannimitta-janitājasra-prayāṇa-kramen
-ākramya Tripurīṇaṁ rāṇaika-rasikān-vi(ddhvaṇi)sya
vidvesiṇaḥ |

yenāvāsyata Vindhya-nirjhara-marut-saṁcāra-cār-ūllasa |
-līl-odyāna-latā-vitāna-vasatau Revopakāṇṭha-(stha)le ||
(V. 39, E. I., Vol. II, p. 186.)

2 Ye dik-sindhura-va(ba)ndhavaḥ kṣaya-maruḥ-lolādri-sa(ttā)
bhṛtaḥ
krīḍā-kroḍa-kuṭumba(mba)-kā(ṇṭi)-jalamukṣa-vra(bra)
hmacaryaḥ jusaḥ |

yat-senā-nṛpa-gandha-sindhura-marun-maitrī-vihastīkr̥tais
-tair apy Aṅga-Kalinga-kuñjara-kulair yuddhā(ya)
va(ba)ddhoṇjalīḥ || (v. 43.)

(E. I., Vol. II, p. 187 ; ibid, p. 193.)

3 Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, No. 3,
pp. 93-94.

north-west.¹ Professor Rapson identifies it with the country between the Mahanadi and the Godavari.² Lakṣmadeva possibly fought with the Aṅga army during his invasion of Bengal. Or it may be that he routed an aggressive campaign of the Aṅga army under Rāmapāla.

After the restoration of peace in Northern Bengal, Rāmapāla turned his attention to retrieving the past glories of his family.³ He advanced against Utkala and Kalinga, and brought them into subjection.⁴

The conquest of Kalinga probably encouraged Rāmapāla to invade the Paramāra kingdom, which extended up to the Nagpur District. On that occasion he might have been assisted by the Kalinga army in his military operations. The above verse of the Nagpur praśasti suggests that the Aṅga and the Kalinga army waged aggressive campaign against Lakṣmadeva. But, as has already been seen, his progress was successfully checked by Lakṣmadeva.

Lakṣmadeva's ambition for military glory induced him to fight against the powerful chiefs of the Deccan and Southern India. He found it expedient to maintain friendly relations with Vikramāditya VI. An inscription,⁵ dated 1129 A. D., probably exaggerates this fact by stating that "the Mālava and other kings, trembling, submitted to his command with fear, making friendship, agreeing with all he said, and are still in the enjoyment

1 Ancient Geography, p. 591.

2 Ancient India, p. 164.

3 Rāmacarita, III, 10.

4 Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, No. I, p. 15.

5 E. C., Vol. VII, SK, No. 100, p. 68; cf E. C., Vol. II, (Sravana Belgola Ins.) No. 349.

of their kingdoms." "For were it not so, he would at once, without pity, have sent those great kings to enjoy the kingdom of the gods."

WAR WITH THE HOYSALAS.

The Hoysalas of Mysore, who were feudatories of the Cālukya sovereigns of Kalyani, seem to have made an attempt to shake off their yoke of subordination, in the latter part of the eleventh century A. D. Lakṣmadeva took this opportunity of making an alliance with Vikramāditya VI for an invasion of the territory of the Hoysalas. The Hoysala Eṛeyaṅga was at that time ruling in Mysore as representative of his old father Vinayāditya.¹ Ballāḷa I, Viṣṇuvardhana, and Udayāditya were the sons of Eṛeyaṅga, who were intrepid warriors. Lakṣmadeva, accompanied by the Cālukya army, overran Mysore and besieged its capital, Dorasamudra.² Upon this, the three sons of Eṛeyaṅga showed themselves equal to the occasion, and offered a stubborn resistance to the

¹ The history of the Hoysalas of this period is confusing, and requires a special study. Eṛeyaṅga was a Yuvarāja in 1062 A. D., and according to the statement of an inscription he continued to be so until at least 1096 A. D. (E. C., Vol. VI, Kd, No. 142 ; introduction p. 11.). But in one of his inscriptions, dated Śaka 1015 = 1093 A. D., he designates himself as mahāmaṇḍaleśvara (Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Mysore, 1924, p. 31). His latest known date is 1100 A. D. (E. C., Vol. V, AK, No. 102a). He had three sons, Ballāḷa I, Viṣṇuvardhana, and Udayāditya. Ballāḷa's inscriptions are dated A. D. 1104 and 1108 (E. C., Vol. V, 11n, No. 161 ; Ann Report Arch. Dep Mysore, 1925, p. 56). The dates of Viṣṇuvardhana's inscriptions range from 1100 A. D. (E. C., Vol. VI, Kd, No. 164).

² The modern village of Halebid in the north-east of the Belur taluk of Hassan District, Mysore.

invading army. Lakṣmadeva could not stand before this opposition, and was forced to withdraw. We have a considerable amount of evidence throwing light upon this event. An inscription,¹ dated 1196 A. D., relates that "Ballāla drove back in battle the force which came to attack him, so that even the Mālava emperor, Jagadeva, whose proud elephant he made to scream out, said 'Well done, horseman'; to which he replied, 'I am not only a horseman, I am Vira-Ballāla', and by his slaughter excited the astonishment of the world." The Sravana Belgola inscription,² dated 1159 A. D., states that "Viṣṇu, powerful like Yama striking with his hand, drank up all at once the rolling ocean, the army of the Mālava king, Jagadeva, and others sent by the emperor (*i.e.* Vikramāditya VI)." An inscription,³ dated 1161 A.D., records that Viṣṇuvardhana, while still a youth, defeated Jagadeva. The Belur Taluq inscription⁴, dated 1117 A.D., registers the fact that "in Dorasamudra they (Viṣṇu and Ballāla) defeated the army of Jagadeva, painted the goddess of Victory with the blood of his elephants for vermillion, and captured his treasury together with the central ornament of his necklace." Narasimha I's

1 Kālegadol taḍaṅgaḍidu mundaṇa thaṭṭin avuṅki pāydoḍ a-Mālava-cakravartti Jagadēvane tanna madāndha-sindhuraṃ |
kī | iḍe pūtu rāvutene rāvutan allen idirccu vīra
-Ba||ā|an en endu meṭṭi tivid āltanav accariy āytu dhātriyo ||
(E. C., Vol. VI, Tarikere Taluq, No. 45).

2 api ca || cakri-prēṣita-Mālaveśvara-Jagaddevādi-sainyārṇ-
navam ghūrṇantaṃ sahasāpibat karatalenāhatya mṛtyu-prabhuḥ
prāk paścād asināgrahīd iha mahīn tat-Kṛṣṇaveṇṇāvadhi ||
-Viṣṇuḥ bbbhuja-daṇḍa-curṇita-nitāntottuṅga-tuṅgācalaḥ || (E. C.,
Vol. II, Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola (revised edition), No.
349, p. 168).

3 E. C., Vol. V, Bl., No. 193.

4 Ibid., Bl., No. 58 ; Hn, No. 116.

inscription,¹ dated 1164 A. D., records that the three brothers Ballāla, Viṣṇu and Udayāditya destroyed the army of Jagadeva in Dorasamudra. The earliest known date of the record containing the report of Jagadeva's defeat is 1100 A. D.²

WAR WITH THE COLAS

About this time, nearly the whole of Southern India was under the supremacy of the Colas. In the early years of the eleventh century A. D., the Cola kingdom extended on the north to the river Tungabhadra and the lower course of the Kistna. With the accession of Kulottuṅga I (A. D. 1070-1118), the kingdom of the western Cālukyas of Veṅgi and that of the Colas of Kāñci were merged into one. This

1 Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 30. Mr. Fleet thinks that the Jagaddeva, referred to in the Hoysala grants, may be an ancestor of, or possibly even identical with the Śāntara prince Jagaddeva of Paṭṭipombuccapura, who has been mentioned in connection with the Western Cālukya kings Perma-Jagadekamalla II and Taila III.' (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 494.) But this does not bear any examination when confronted with the available authentic evidence. Jagaddeva, with whom the three Hoysala brothers fought, is expressly mentioned as the king of Mālava in two Hoysala inscriptions. Śāntara Jagaddeva, referred to by Mr. Fleet, ruled in the middle of the twelfth century A. D., his inscription being dated A. D. 1149 (Mysore Inscription, p. 97 ; cf. E. C., Vol. VIII, Sg., No. 131). His grandfather Tailapa's inscriptions range from A. D. 1089 to A. D. 1106. (E. C., Vol. VIII, Sg, No. 103 ; Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department, 1923, p. 117). The battle between Jagaddeva and the Hoysalas took place before 1100 A. D.

2 E. C., Vol. V, AK., No. 34 ; cf. English text, p. 122 footnote.

extended the northern boundary of the Coḷa dominion up to the river Godavari, within less than three hundred miles of the marches of the Paramāra kingdom. The intervening territories between these two kingdoms were the target of attack for many military adventurers of this period. Kulottuṅga I, when he was Crown Prince, ravaged Vayirāgaram (modern Wairagarh), which lies only a few miles south of the Nagpur District.¹ Lakṣmadeva now came into conflict with the Coḷas, who were at that time governed by Kulottuṅga I. His success on this occasion was sweeping. We are told that, when he directed his steps towards the south, the Coḷas and the other tribes bowed low before him.² Next, in the course of his predatory excursions, he is said to have reached Tāmraparṇī, which lay, within the territory of the Pāṇdyas,³ and thence, having crossed Rāma's bridge, proceeded to Ceylon and reduced that island to subjection.⁴ But, in the absence of any definite corroborative evidence, it is impossible to say with certainty whether he invaded the Pāṇdyā country and Ceylon.⁵ It seems to be merely the panegyric of the poet.

1 S. I. I., Vol. III, Part II, p. 132.

2 E. I., Vol. II, p. 187, v. 46.

3 Locally it is now called Tambaravari in Tinnevely, which rises in the Agastikuta mountain. Ibid., v. 47.

4 Ibid., v. 48.

5 On the Nagpur stone inscription, Prof. Kielhorn remarks that "according to the poet's account, Lakṣmadeva subjugated the earth in all directions ; but the only tangible and probably true facts mentioned are an expedition undertaken against Tripurī, the well-known capital of the Cedi kingdom, and perhaps some fights with the Turuṣkas or Muhammadan invaders, alluded to in verse 54, which speaks of the king's

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SUBJUGATION OF THE HILL TRIBES.

Having finished his eastern and southern expeditions, Lakṣmadeva is reported to have advanced against the Western countries. The Dvyāśraya relates that, during

encampment on the banks of the river vaṅkṣu, and contains a well-known play on the word kīra." (E. I., Vol. II, p. 181). With due deference to the learned scholar, I do not agree with him in every respect. It is to be borne in mind that the 'Praśasti' was composed by the king Naravarman, the younger brother and successor of Lakṣmadeva. It contains fifty-eight verses, of which nineteen are devoted to the praise of Lakṣmadeva, three to Udayāditya and three to Bhoja, the glory of the Paramāras. The poet-king is extremely vague in describing the military achievements of all his predecessors and of himself, with the exception of Lakṣmadeva, of whose exploits he writes particularly definitely. This is a matter, which, of course, calls for special consideration and remark. At present we have no other material to put forward as evidence corroborative of the information under review, namely, that supplied by the Nagpur inscription. But this does not in any way make the facts incredible, if they are not otherwise so. The report of Samudragupta's conquests, as gathered from the Allahabad Pillar inscription, is not supported by any other evidence; yet no doubt is entertained by historians regarding its genuineness. Lakṣmadeva inherited from his father a kingdom, whose minimum extent lay between Jhalrapatan on the north, Bhilsa on the east, Nagpur and the Nimar Districts on the south, and the Banswara state on the west. The possession of such an enormous territory proves that the Paramāras retained great authority and power even in the last quarter of the eleventh century A. D. Their ruler was certainly not less powerful than his neighbours, whose conquests of far countries are recorded by a large number of inscriptions. With the decline of the imperial power of the Pālas, Bengal became a powerful attraction to foreign military adventurers. The Candella Dhaṅga (950—1001 A. D.), the successor of Yaśovarman, conquered Rāḍha and Aṅga (E. I., Vol. I, p. 143); the Kalacuri

the reign of Siddharāja-Jayasimha (1095-1145 A. D.), king of Gujarat, the Rākṣasas were a source of constant trouble to the pious ṛṣis (religious mendicants), residing in Siddhapura. The ṛṣis besought Siddharāja for help, whereupon the king advanced with his army to chastise those barbarians.¹

The Rākṣasa leader Bārbara, assisted by the brother of the king of Antaradeśa, opposed him on the bank of the Sarasvatī, but was defeated and brought under

Gāṅgeya (1020-1040 A. D.) defeated the king of Aṅga (ibid., Vol. XI, p. 143). His successor, Karṇa (1040-1072 A. D.), won victories over the rulers of Vaṅga and Gauḍa (ibid., Vol. II, p. 11). Rājendra Coḷa (1012-1042 A. D.), some time before 1025 A. D., conquered Orissa, Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha and Vaṅgāladeśa, and defeated the Pāla Mahīpāla, who was deprived of his elephants and women in battle (ibid., Vol. IX, p. 231). The Cālukya Someśvara is celebrated as a wind to the cloud that is the kings of Vaṅga and others (ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 97). His successor, Vikramāditya VI (1076-1128 A. D.), is said, as crown prince, to have carried his victorious arms up to Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa (Vikramāṅkadevacarita, Sarga III, v. 74). In the first quarter of the 11th century A. D., the Yādavas of Simhapura, in Kālīṅga, migrated to East Bengal and established there a sovereignty of their own. In the latter part of the same century, Sāmantasena, a Karṇāṭa Kṣatriya, founded a kingdom in southern Bengal. Considering all these things, it cannot be maintained that it was impossible for Lakṣmadeva to carry on a raid over Bengal. He gave his daughter in marriage to a Varman king of East Bengal. Similarly, a survey of the above discussion (in the text), regarding Lakṣmadeva's conflicts with the kings of Aṅga, Kālīṅga and Coḷa, will make it clear that they were not, after all, beyond the range of probability. A large number of Hoysala inscriptions record that Jagaddeva, the emperor of Mālava, advanced up to Mysore in his military campaigns.

1 Sarga XII.

control.¹ The Rākṣasas were, no doubt, wild hill tribes, dwelling in the mountains of Gujarat. Lakṣmadeva is credited with a victory over the Timiṅgalas and other monsters who resided in the Maināka mountain² on the west. The Mahābhārata locates this mountain on the western border of India, in or near Gujarat.³ The Timiṅgalas were probably one of those hill-tribes who were subjugated by Siddharāja.

WAR WITH THE KĪRAS.

Lakṣmadeva is said to have led expeditions against the countries on the north as he did on other directions. Verse 54 of the Nagpur inscription records that “—‘being encamped on the bank of the Vanṅṣu, which were even softer than nature made them because the saffron-filaments on them were withering under the rolling of teams of frisky horses, presented by the Turuṣkas, whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kīra chief to utter most flattering speeches, who, on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatī, was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage.”

The Vanṅṣu was an arm or small branch of the Ganges,⁴ which cannot now be identified. Sarasvatī

1 Dvyātraya, Sarga XII, pp. 113-114.

2 E. I., Vol. II., pp. 187, 188, vs. 50-51.

3 Chapter LXXXIX.

4 khelotkhāta-Turuṣka-datta-vilasad-vāhāvalī-vellana
klāmyat-kuṅkuma-kesarādhika-mṛdau Vamṅṣūpakaṇṭha-
sthale |

Yenāvāsya Sarasvatī-savidhatā sādhiḱya-vāk-pāṭavaś
cāṣṭun utkāṣa-(pa)tri-pañjara-gataḥ Kīrādhīpo 'dhyāpyata |
(E. I., Vol II, p. 188.)

5 M. Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary.

is evidently the name of the river in the Punjab, which rises in the Sirmur hills, known as the Sewalik, in the Himalayan ranges, and enters the plains at Ad-Bardi in Ambala. It receives as tributaries the Markanda and other streams, and joins the Gaggar near the village of Rasula.¹ The *Brahma-Samhitā* mentions the Kīras as a people inhabiting the country to the north-east together with the Kashmiras.² The Baijnath inscription³ records that there was a family who ruled in Kīragrāma. The king Lakṣmaṇa of this family was ruling in 804 A. D.⁴ Kīragrāma is the modern Kirgaon, a small town on the east of Kangra, about thirty miles east of Kat-Kangra, and nearly a hundred miles south of which flows the river Sarasvati. The name of the locality itself suggests that there was a settlement of the Kīras. Nothing is known of the successors of Lakṣmaṇa. But the existence of the Kīras as a ruling dynasty can be traced from the beginning of the ninth century A. D. The Pāla Dharma-pāla (780-815 A. D.) defeated the Kīras,⁵ The Candella Yaśovarman (925-950 A. D.) obtained an image of Vaiṣṇuṭha from the Kīra Sāhi, who received it from the ruler of Bhoṭa.⁶ Sāhilladeva, the king of Chamba, who flourished in the second quarter of the eleventh century A. D., is described as a "blazing fire of the Kīra forces fanned as by the wind by the Durgara lord, assisted by the Saumatika."⁷ When the Kalacuri Karna (1042-1072 A. D.) gave full play to his heroism, the Kīra stayed at

1 For further information, see J. R. A. S., 1893, p. 51.

2 XIV, 29.

3 E. I., Vol. I., p. 163.

4 Ibid.

5 Gauḍa-lekha-mālā, p. 14.

6 E. I., Vol. I., p. 129, v. 63.

7 I. A., Vol. XVII, pp. 8-9.

home like a parrot in a cage.¹ Lakṣmadeva very likely warred with these Kīras of the Kangra District, who lived near the river Sarasvatī.

WAR WITH THE MOSLEMS.

About this period the Paramāra kingdom was threatened with an invasion by the Moslems. Ibrāhīm, the son of Mas'ud I and the grandson of the great conqueror Maḥmūd, ascended the throne of Ghaznī in 1059 A. D., and ruled his kingdom until 1099 A. D.² He appointed his son Maḥmūd governor of his Indian possessions in 1075 A. D. Maḥmūd launched an extensive campaign against Hindustan. Agra fell before his sword, and many Hindu kings offered their submission to his authority. He is said to have received a large number of elephants as presents from the neighbouring ruling chiefs. Stables were erected at Kanauj for the residence of those elephants, and Chand Rāi was appointed to take charge of them.³ This Chand Rāi is to be identified with Candradeva of the Gāhāḍavāla dynasty, who was the king of Kanauj in the latter part of the eleventh century A. D. After this achievement Maḥmūd directed his armies towards Malwa. Lakṣmadeva who seems at that time to have been on the throne of Malwa was not a man to yield before the Moslems without any battle. He offered a stubborn resistance to the invaders. In the encounter that followed the Moslems won some preliminary victories but were ultimately repelled by Lakṣmadeva.⁴ The great Persian poet Salmān was a contemporary of the Sultān Ibrāhīm and Maḥmūd. He

1 E. I., Vol. II, p. 15, v. 12.

2 Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 34.

3 Elliot History of India, Vol. IV, p. 524.

4 E. I., Vol. II, p. 188.

died in 520 H=1126 A. D.¹ He gives a description of Maḥmūd's invasion of Malwa, and addressing the prince writes-² "Thou didst encamp at pleasant spots in each province in the hottest season of the year. On this journey thy army destroyed a thousand idol temples, and thy elephants trampled over more than a hundred strongholds. Thou didst march thy army to Ujjain; Malwa trembled and fled from thee,"

I think Maḥmūd launched this invasion against Malwa when it was ruled by Lakṣmadeva. The Nagpur praśasti records Lakṣmadeva's conflict with the Moslems and his subsequent victory over them.³

Lakṣmadeva was a gallant soldier and an astute military leader. The name of Jagaddeva is still fresh in the memory of the people of Western India for his high military skill. He was undoubtedly a towering figure of the last quarter of the eleventh century A. D. He like a meteor, flashed across the horizon of Central India for a short time, and then disappeared, leaving behind him everlasting fame. Worthy son of his family as he was, he succeeded in exalting the position of the Paramāras to the foremost rank among imperial powers, after it had suffered so many vicissitudes in the course of the last few decades.

The Belava grant of Bhojavarman⁴ records that Jagadvijayamalla, son of Udayī, gave his daughter Mālavya Devī, in marriage to Sāmalavarman, king of East Bengal.

¹ Elliot History of India, P. 518. According to some the poet died in 524 H=1131 A. D.

² Ibid., p 524.

³ Vide p. 154, Footnote 4.

⁴ Vīraśrīyaṁ ajani Sāmalavarmanma-devaḥ

Śrīmatī-jagat-prathama-maṅgala-nāmadheyāḥ

kim varṇayāmy akhila-bhūpa-guṇopapanno

doṣair mmanāg api padam na kṛtaḥ prabhur mme #

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Lakṣmadeva closed his reign some time before 1094 A. D., and was succeeded by his younger brother Naravarman.

NARAVARMAN.

Naravarman assumed the epithet of Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa. Six inscriptions of his reign have so far been discovered.

(i) A slab of stone containing an inscription¹ was found near a tank, situated about a mile to the south of Udayapur, in the Bhilsa District. It records the construction of a tank in V. S. 1151=1094 A. D., when Naravarman was ruling his kingdom. The tank was evidently the very one close to which the record was discovered.

(ii) The stone inscription,² found in Nagpur, has often been referred to above. It states that, in V. S. 1161=1104 A. D., the king made a gift of the village

TasyOdayī sūnur abhūt prabhūta-durvvāra-vīreṣv api
saṅgareṣu

Yaś-candrahāsa-pratibimbitaṃ svam ekaṃ mukhaṃ
sammukhaṃ ikṣate sma ॥

Tasya Mālavadevy āsit kanyā trailokya-sundarī
Jagadvijayamallasya vaijayantī manobhavaḥ.

(J. A. S. B., Vol. X, p. 127, new series).

Mr. R. G. Basak thinks that "Jagadvijayamalla" is an adjective of "Manobhū" (E. I., Vol. XII, p. 42). Mr. R. D. Banerji supports Dr. H. P. Śāstrī, who takes it to be a proper name. Mr. Banerji suggests that "tasyOdayī sūnur" in line 17, is a mistake for "tathOdayī sūnur". In my opinion Dr. Śāstrī is right in his assertion, as it is known from other sources that Udayāditya had a son, Jagaddeva.

(J. A. S. B., Vol. X, p. 125. (N. 5.)

¹ A. S. I., 1923-24, p. 135 (unpublished.)

² E. I., Vol. II, p. 180.

Mokhalapāṭaka, in addition to the two villages granted by his brother Lakṣmadeva, in Vyāpuramaṇḍala. The donations were probably made for the maintenance of the temple to which the inscription next refers. Mokhalapāṭaka cannot now be identified.

(iii) Colonel Tod discovered an inscription on a marble stone at Madhukaraghar in Harauti (modern Bundi State).¹ It describes the predecessors of Naravarman as being Sindhula, Bhoja, and Udayāditya, and records the construction of a temple of Śiva by the illustrious Haradeva at Banjsthān, which lay in the extremity of the Dakṣiṇ and Uḍīya deśa. The inaugural ceremony of the temple was performed in Sam. 1164 = A. D. 1107, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Haradeva was the son of the learned Mahādeva and the grandson of Rudrāditya. He takes pride in having increased the glory of the king Naravarman, and was probably an important officer of the latter's government. Colonel Tod is of the opinion that the name Madhukaraghar was subsequently given to this Banjsthān. The Dakṣiṇadeśa and the Uḍīyadeśa were separated by the Madhyadeśa, in which Malwa was situated. Hence nothing regarding the precise localisation of Banjsthān can be determined from the inscription. It may be assumed that the temple on which the stone inscription was affixed was not very far from Madhukaraghar. The locality may be identified with the the modern Bundi State.²

¹ Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 226. The facsimile of the inscription is not available.

² It is suggested that the country was named Bundi after a Miṇa chieftain called Būnda, who flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century A. D. (Imp. Gaz. of India, Vol. IX, p. 87).

(iv) A copper-plate inscription,¹ recently discovered, is a deed for granting several plots of land, situated in the village of Kadambapadraka, in the pratijāgaranaka of Mandāraka, in the Upendrapura maṇḍala. The province was under the charge of Mahāmaṇḍalika Rājyadeva, who was an officer of Naravarman. The recipient was Dviveda Āśādhara, son of Dikṣita Devaśarman and the grandson of Dviveda Narāyaṇa. The lands were granted piecemeal on different occasions. On one occasion the king made a gift of twenty plough-measures, and on another, in Sam. 1159=1102 A. D., Rājyadeva granted ten plough-measures and his wife Mahādevī gave four ploughs. The whole record was issued in Sam. 1167=1110 A. D. The localities mentioned above cannot be identified.

(v) On the outskirts of the town of Bhilsa there is an old mosque known as Bijamandira. On one of its pillars there is an inscription² of the reign of Naravarman, in which he is given the epithet of Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa. It records that it was by the grace of the Goddess Cacikā (or Carcikā) that the lord of Dhārā assumed the sovereignty of the earth. She was the favourite goddess of Naravarman on whom she bestowed all the qualities of a good ruler. This suggests that the present building was originally a temple of Carcikā, which was subsequently converted into a mosque.

(iv) In the Bhojaśālā at Dhārā there is a short inscription,³ representing Naravarman as a defender of religion.

¹ Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (Western Circle), 1921, p. 54. (unpublished.)

² Ibid., 1914, p. 59 (unpublished.)

³ J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 351.

WAR WITH THE CANDELLAS.

Notwithstanding the discovery of so many inscriptions of the reign of this monarch, our knowledge of his political career is very meagre. Some documents of the neighbouring dynasties, however, throw a ray of light upon the period under review. It has been noticed in the foregoing chapter that Bhoja entered into a war with the Candella Vidyādhara. Vidyādhara was succeeded by Vijayapāla (1040-1050 A. D.), Devavarman (1050-1065 A. D.), and Kīrtivarman (1065-1100 A. D.). With none of them are the Paramāras known to have made war. Kīrtivarman was succeeded by Sallakṣaṇavarman (1100-1110 A. D.), who was evidently a contemporary of Naravarman. The Candella kingdom was contiguous to that of the Paramāras. Udayapur, which was an important centre of the Paramāra government, was in the Bhāillasvāmi-mahādvādaśaka.¹ The Candella Madanavarman made a grant of land in 1134 A. D., while residing in Bhāillasvāmi.² Sallakṣaṇavarman entered into hostilities with Naravarman and won a victory over him. An inscription from Ajaigarh³ tells us that he took away the fortune of the Mālavas and the Cedis.

WAR WITH THE COLAS.

Naravarman seems to have come into conflict with the Colas and suffered a reverse. The Vikrama-Colan-Ula⁴ tells us that Vikrama Cola's general, who was a

¹ Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1914, p. 59.

² Ibid.

³ E. I., Vol. I, p. 326.

⁴ I. A., Vol. XXII, p. 143.

Pallava chief (1118-1133 A. D.), defeated the kings of Sindhala, Konkana, and Mālava.

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

After Udayāditya's victory over the Caulukya Karna there was a temporary cessation of the struggles between Gujarat and Malwa. Karna's successor, Jayasimha-Siddharāja (1096-1145 A. D.), was very young when he ascended the throne of Anhilwar, in 1196 A. D. His mother, Mayanalladevi, became regent and managed the affairs of the state for some time. Shortly after his assumption of the charge of government for himself, the quarrel with Malwa broke out again with renewed intensity. Merutunga¹ tells us that, when Siddharāja was absent from Gujarat on a pilgrimage, the Mālava king Yaśovarman invaded his kingdom. The Caulukya minister Sāntū, who was in charge of the government, realising the weakness of his position, submitted to the invader on humiliating terms. On his return to Gujarat, Siddharāja severely blamed the minister for his conduct and at once ordered an army to be assembled for the invasion of Malwa. Thus a war broke out with the Paramāras, which continued for twelve years, and ended in the defeat and capture of Yaśovarman. It will be shown below that Yaśovarman fell a captive to the Caulukya king in 1186 A. D., after a short reign of three years. Hence, if Merutunga's report regarding the length of the period of the war is correct, Yaśovarman certainly invaded Gujarat during the reign of his father Naravarman, and evidently at the instance of the latter.

Jinamandana's Kumārapāla-prabandha relates that Siddharāja made a vow that when he had killed Naravarman he would use his skin to make a scabbard for his

¹ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 85 ff.

sword. The war continued for twelve years, and ended in the defeat and capture of Naravarman. Siddharāja, however, did not fulfil his vow, as he was told by his ministers that kings were inviolable. It is doubtful whether the Caulukya king really did succeed in capturing Naravarman, although there is no doubt that the latter was defeated. An inscription¹ records that Siddharāja made himself glorious by destroying the power of Naravarman.

All these reverses sustained by the Malwa government undoubtedly prove the degeneration of its military strength in the early part of the twelfth century A. D. Neither Naravarman nor his successors could do anything towards the restoration of its former glory. Hence, within a very short time, a most serious calamity again overtook the Paramāras, and led to the extinction of their political power for a long time to come.

Naravarman was himself a poet and a patron of those who devoted their lives to literary activities, giving them both sympathy and material support. He composed many hymns and verses.² He built many temples, though few remains of them can be traced now. According to the evidence of epigraphic records, he carried on his architectural activities in Nagpur³ and Bhilsa.⁴

Momala-devī, Naravarman's queen, bore him a son named Yaśovarman,⁵ who succeeded his father in 1188 A. D.⁶

¹ Unpublished.

² E. I., Vol. II, p. 188.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Progress Report, (W. C.), 1914, p. 59.

⁵ I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 349.

⁶ Ibid.

YAŚOVARMAN.

In the year Sam. 1191 = 1134 A. D., on the occasion of the annual funeral ceremony of his deceased father Naravarman, Yaśovarman, from the imperial city of Dhārā, granted the two villages of Vaḍauda and Uthavaṇaka to the householder Dhanapāla, a Karmāṭa Brahman, whose grandfather Thakkura Mahirasvāmin came to Ujjain from the place called Adrelav(i)-ddhāvart. The first of these two villages belonged to Surāsaṇi, and the second to Uthavaṇaka. Both Surāsaṇi and Uthavaṇaka were again attached to Rājasaṇa-bhoga, which was in the Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala.¹

A copper-plate inscription,² with the sign-manual of Śrīmad-Yaśovarmanmadeva, was issued in the dark half of the month of Mārgaśīras, of the year Sam. 1192 = November, 1135 A. D. Certain measures of land in Devalapāṭaka were formerly granted to two persons. On the occasion of the annual funeral ceremony of the illustrious Momala-devi, Yaśovarman, having altered the previous arrangements, gave instead the village of Laghuvaṃgaṇapadra and the half of the village of Thikkarikā to the same grantees Thakkura Vāmana-svāmi and the Mahāpradhāna, the Rājaputra Devadhara, were dūtakas.

The localities mentioned above cannot be identified.

Yaśovarman ascended the throne of Malwa at the time when almost all its military resources were exhausted by the long-protracted war with the Caulukyās of Gujarat. He was not a capable military leader, nor had he the keen perception of a veteran statesman, which was so badly needed by the Paramāra house in those

¹ I. A., Vol. XIX., p. 351.

² Ibid., p. 348.

dark days of its rapid decline. Hence it was evident that Malwa was again going to suffer a terrible disaster.

Vijayapāla seems formerly to have been a governor of the Paramāras of Dhārā. He administered the territories in and around the modern village of Ingnoda, in the Dewas State. Shortly before the death of Naravarman, he appears to have deserted his overlord and declared his independence. An inscription¹ of his reign, dated Sam. 1190, Âṣāḍha=June, 1133 A. D., has been discovered on the wall of a newly built temple at Ingnoda. It records that Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara Śrī-Vijayapāla, son of M. P. Śrī Tihunapāla, grandson of M. P. Śrī Pṛthvipāla, granted the village Agāsiyaka to the God Gohaḍeśvara, in the pathaka of Imṅanapata South. Imṅanapata is evidently the modern Ingnoda, where the record has been discovered. The inscription clearly shows that the disintegration of the Paramāra kingdom had begun since the latter part of the reign of Naravarman. But still more terrible calamities were awaiting Yaśovarman.

About this time the Paramāras were troubled by an invasion of the Cāhamānas of Śākambhārī. Cāhamāna Durlabha, who helped Udayāditya against the Cauḷukyas, was succeeded by Vighraharāja III, Pṛthvirāja, and Ajayarāja (or Jayadeva). A stone inscription² found in Adhaidinka Jhonpra, Ajmer, reports that Ajayarāja conquered the country up to Ujjain. The Pṛthvirāja-vijaya³ tells us that Ajayarāja attacked and defeated

¹ I. A., Vol. VI, p. 55.

² It is now in the Ajmer Museum and has not yet been edited.

³ 5th Sarga, V. 95.

Salhana, the king of Mālava. The Bijolian inscription¹ of Someśvara, dated 1169 A. D., reports that Jayadeva captured the dandānāyaka Sulhana in battle, tied him to the back of a camel, and brought him to Ajmer. Ajayarāja flourished sometime before 1139 A. D., which is the earliest known date of his successor Arṇorāja. The Mālava king, who was his contemporary, was either Naravarman or Yaśovarman. Hence, the Bijolian inscription seems to be correct in describing Sulhana as a dandānāyaka.

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

Hemacandra was a contemporary of both Siddharāja and Yaśovarman. He relates² that, once upon a time, a "Yoginī" (a female ascetic) came to Siddharāja from Ujjain, and advised him to go to that holy city to worship Kālīkā and other Yoginīs, if he were desirous of acquiring high religious merit. She impressed upon him the necessity of establishing friendly relations with Yaśovarman, in order to obtain permission to enter Malwa. At this Siddharāja became incensed and replied that he would secure his entrance there by force of arms and would take Yaśovarman prisoner. The Gujarat army then marched towards Malwa under his command. He was accompanied by the Nadula king, Āśārāja,³ and by a Bhīl chieftain, whose assistance was of great value to him in that mountainous region. He reached the outskirts of the city of Ujjain without much difficulty, and pitched his camp on the bank of the Sipra. Yaśovarman offered a gallant opposition, but was defeated

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. LV, p. 41, v. 15. cf J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 272, footnote 5.

² Dvyāśraya, Sarga XIV, vs. 5-74.

³ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 76, v. 26.

and taken prisoner. The whole of Avantideśa, with Ujjain, fell into the hands of Jayasimha, and was annexed to the Gujarat empire.

Merutunga does not say anything in particular about Jayasimha's conquest of Ujjain. He relates¹ that the king laid siege to the fort of Dhârâ, but having failed to capture it, was making arrangements to retreat. In the meantime, his minister Muñjala managed to procure the information that a careful attack on the southern gate of the fort, which offered the weakest defence, stood a good chance of achieving success. Jayasimha, as soon as he heard this, rushed with his elephant force to that spot, and after a strenuous effort, succeeded in capturing the city. Yaśovarman capitulated and fell a captive to the Caulukya monarch. After this event, the supremacy of Jayasimha was established over Malwa.

Though the accounts of these two Jaina scholars differ some what in detail, there is a general agreement between them regarding Siddharāja's complete success over Yaśovarman, which finds strong corroboration in many early records. The *Sukṛtasamkirtana*² tells us that Jayasimha imprisoned Yaśovarman, the king of Dhârâ. Both the *Surathotsava*³ and the *Kirtikaumudī*⁴ of Someśvara relate that Jayasimha defeated the Paramâras, conquered Dhârâ, the city of Naravarman, and threw its lord into wooden cage. The Dohad inscription⁵ of the reign of Jayasimha, dated 1139 and 1145 A. D., informs us that the king cast the lords of

1 Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 85-86.

2 Sarga XI, v. 34.

3 Grantha-Praśasti, vs. 31-33.

4 Sarga II, vs. 31-32.

5 Yena kārāgṛhe kṣiptau Saurāṣṭra-Mālaśvarau (I. A., Vol. X, p. 159, v. 2).

Saurāstra and Mālava into prison. The Vadnagar prasasti of Kumārāpāla,¹ dated 1151 A. D., states that Jayasimha fettered the proud king of Mālava. The Prabandha caturviñjati² relates that Jayasimha, after his conquest of Mālava, subdued the kingdoms of the south viz, Mahārāstra, Tilānga, Karmāta, and Pāṇḍya. The Sundha hill inscription of Cācigadeva³ records that Jayasimha secured assistance from the Cāhamāna, Āśārāja, chief of Nadul, in his war against Mālava.

Siddharāja's victory over the king of Malwa was more than a mere military raid. He incorporated the country into his own empire by the complete overthrow of the Paramāra government. Merutunga says⁴ that Siddharāja did not allow Mālava to remain with Yaśovarman, but established his sovereignty there. A large number of Caulukya grants⁵ of different dates ranging from V. S. 1263 to 1299, designate Siddharāja as

1 Drpyan-Mālava-bhūpa-baṁdhana-vidhi-trastākṣhila
-kṣmāpatir
bhakty-ākṣṛṣṭa vitirṇa-darśana-Siva (mū) tta-pra (bh)-
āvodayaḥ ।
sadya siddha-rasānṛṇīkṛta-jagad-gītāpamāna-sṭhitir
jajñe Śrī-Jayasimha-deva-nṛpaṁtiḥ Siddhādhirājis-tataḥ ॥

v. 11.

(E. I., Vol. I, p. 297.) Read Śivo mūrta ; sadyaḥ ; Jagad-gītōpa-māna ; nṛpatiḥ ; Siddhādhirājas.

2 Mālava-deśa-svāyattīkaraṇānantaraṁ Dakṣiṇapathe
Mahārāstra-Tilānga-Karmāta-Pāṇḍyādi-rāṣṭrānyasādhayat ।
(I. A., Vol. XII, p. 200, footnote 13.)

3 Śrī-Āśārāja-nāma samajani vasudhā-nāyakas tasya vaṁ-
(baṁ) dhuḥ ।

sāhāyyaṁ Mālavānāṁ bhuvi yadasi-kṛtaṁ vikṣya
Siddhādhirājaḥ ।

(E. I., Vol. IX, p. 76, v. 26.)

4 Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 87, 115.

5 I. A., Vol. VI, pp. 191.

the lord of Avanti (Avanti-nātha). Mahādeva, son of Dampā Dādāka of the Nagara race, was appointed governor of the province of Avanti by Siddharāja. A stone inscription of Jayasimha,¹ dated V. S. 1195=1138 A. D., found at Ujjain, tells us that the king, having defeated Yaśovarman, was holding Avanti-maṇḍala by force, and that Mahādeva was administering it on his behalf. As regards Yaśovarman, it is related that, within a short time, he managed to escape from the prison of Gujarat, with the help of the Cāhamānas of Ajmer. He seems to have come to terms with Jayasimha, and eventually to have ruled in Dhārā, or in some other part of Malwa, as his vassal. In his inscription, dated V. S. 1191, he is described as "Mahārājādhirāja," a designation denoting an independent sovereign, but in a record issued a year later, in V. S. 1192, he is found to assume the subordinate title of "Mahārāja". This apparently means that by the time the latter inscription was issued he had lost his position as a paramount sovereign. At any rate Malwa became part and parcel of the Gujarat empire between the years V. S. 1191 and 1193, the latter being the earliest known date of the inscription² of Jayasimha glorifying him as the lord of Avanti.

Malwa was not the only country that was annexed to the Caulukya kingdom during this period. Its northern boundary was extended up to Southern Marwar, where the Cāhamānas of Nadol acknowledged the sway of Jayasimha.³ But this monarch's imperial policy ultimately failed. He could not lead a happy and glorious life in the later years of his reign. His feudatory the Cāhamāna Āśārāja, revolted against

¹ I. A., Vol. XLII, p. 258.

² J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXV, p. 322.

³ E. I., Vol. XI, p. 32.

him.¹ Kaṭudeva, the son of Āśārāja, is found ruling southern Marwar independently of the control of the Anhilwara government.² But prior to this, the Paramāras of Malwa seem to have seceded from his control. The Dohad inscription³ relates that Jayasimha appointed a commander for Dadhipadra and other districts (modern Dohad in Panchmahal, between Malwa and Gujarat), probably, as Professor Bühler remarks,⁴ "in order to protect the high road to Mandu and Dhar—to keep it clear for his own troops, and to guard against incursions from this side." That Avanti was lost to Jayasimha is shown by the fact that his successor Kumārapāla, immediately after his accession to the throne, had to reconquer it from the lord of Ujjain.⁵

JAYAVARMAN.

Yaśovarman was succeeded by his son Jayavarman, who declared himself to be an independent sovereign by the assumption of the title Mahārājādhirāja.⁶ This prince probably liberated his paternal territory from the domination of the Gurjaras some time about 1138 A. D. An undated inscription⁷ of his reign has been discovered. In this record, issued from his residence at Vardhamānapura, he informs the officials and the people concerned that, while residing at Candrapurī, he has

1 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 76.

2 Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 34.

3 I. A., Vol. X, p. 161.

4 Ibid., p. 162.

5 Dvyāśraya, Sargas XVI-XIX.

6 I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 350.

7 Ibid., p. 350.

granted the village of Māyamoḍaka, in the "Vāṭa-khetaka-Thirty-six," to a person living at Rājābrahmapurī, who had emigrated from Adriyalavidāvari, in the Dakṣiṇadeśa. The localities mentioned in the record cannot be identified.

Although Jayavarman succeeded in liberating his kingdom from the yoke of subordination, he could not long maintain his authority over it. The imperial power of the Paramāras had already been shattered, and Jayavarman could make no real attempt to recover his military power. Malwa was threatened with invasion from other quarters. The Candella Madanavarman (1128-1163 A. D.), a nephew of Naravarman's adversary, Sallakṣaṇavarman,¹ attacked Mālava about this time. The Mau inscription² of his reign registers that he quickly overcame the king of Mālava, who was full of arrogance. The Cālukya Vikramāditya VI was succeeded by Someśvara III (1128-1138 A. D.), and Jagadekamalla II (1139-1149 A. D.). Jagadekamalla, at the head of a large army, fell upon Mālava. Jayavarman could not withstand the onslaught of this powerful enemy. He seems to have been severely defeated and killed on the battle-field. An inscription,³ dated about 1157 A. D., records that Jagadekamalla destroyed the Mālava king. Another inscription,⁴ dated 1158 A. D., states that he left

1 I. A., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 127

2 Yenauddhatyaṃ dadhānaḥ sa ca sapadi samunmūlito Mālaveśa—

ātanvanto yatra bhaktiṃ param avani-bhujāḥ svāsthyam
anye ca bhejūḥ

(E. I., Vol. I, p. 198, v. 15.)

3 Mysore Inscription, p. 58.

4 Ibid., p. 153.

Mālava without possession. A third inscription,¹ dated about 1165 A. D., narrates that he utterly despoiled the wealth of the **Mālava** king. In this expedition **Jagadekamalla** seems to have been helped by his feudatory, **Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha I**, son of **Viṣṇuvar-dhana**. An inscription,² dated about 1150 A. D., reports that **Narasiṃha** overcame the **Mālava** king. The **Hunsur** inscription,³ dated 1162 A. D., corroborates this fact, and adds that his sword longed to devour the **Mālava** king. The fact that **Jayavarman** lost his throne and kingdom is indirectly evidenced by the **Bhopal** grant⁴ of **Udayavarman**. It relates that **Lakṣmīvarman** obtained the sovereignty by force, after the reign of **Jayavarman** had passed away.

The imperial **Paramāra** government thus suffered another terrible disaster, and this time had to remain without any political power for about a quarter of a century. This event must have occurred some time before 1143 A. D., the earliest known date of **Lakṣmīvarman**. After **Jayavarman**, a king named **Ballāḷa** held sway over **Mālava**.⁵ Nothing is known

1 Mysore Inscription, p. 61.

2 E. C., Vol. IV, K. P. 32, Introduction, p. 21.

3 Ibid., H. S., No. 137, cf. Ng, No. 30, dated 1164 A. D.

4 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 254.

5 Some are inclined to think that **Ballāḷa** is identical with **Jayavarman** (*Downfall of Hindu India*, Vol. III. p. 173, C. V. Vaidya). According to **Merutuṅga's** *Vicāraśreṇī*, the **Cauḷukya** **Jayasīṃha** died in **Sam. 1199, Kārttika sudi 3**, and his successor's coronation took place in **Sam. 1199, Mārgaśīra, sudi 4**. We have valid reason to doubt the correctness of the above dates. Colonel **Tod** says that he found an inscription, which records that the **Sahasraliṅga** temple was completed by **Jayasīṃha** in **Sam. 1202** (*Travels in Western India*, p. 142). The **Dohad** inscription, of the reign of **Jayasīṃha**, contains the dates **Sam.**

about his pedigree, and how he came to acquire his kingdom. This name was very common among the Hoysalas of Mysore. He might have been a scion of the Hoysala dynasty, and have gained his fortune when Jayavarman was overthrown by the combined forces of the Hoysalas and the Čalukyas. Ballāla, however, did not enjoy his fortune for long. He soon came into conflict with the Gujarat sovereign Kumārapāla by whom he was defeated and killed. Kumārapāla then conquered Mālava. Thus, through the inscrutable ways of Destiny, Malwa again became a

1196 and 1202 (I. A., Vol. X, p. 159). Professor Bühler, relying entirely on Merutuṅga's account, asserts that the latter portion of the Dohad inscription was a subsequent addition, made after the death of Jayasimha (ibid., p. 162). He further suggests that "a careful examination of the stone and of the letters would be necessary in order to decide if the pillar, on which the Dohad inscription is engraved, belonged to the temple of Goganārāyaṇa or not, and if the letters of the last lines show any little differences from those of the first ten." (Ibid.). Mr. Burgess remarks that "rubbing shows no marked difference; but it is apparently made with a pencil, and is not quite satisfactory." (ibid., footnote 1.) The Bali stone inscription (E. I., Vol. XI, pp. 32-33) records that Jayasimha was ruling in Sam. 1200. It is obvious from this that Merutuṅga is wrong in fixing Sam. 1199 as the date of the death of Jayasimha. This leaves no ground for doubt that the latter portion of the Dohad inscription, containing the date Sam. 1202, was issued during the reign of Jayasimha. The earliest known date of Jayasimha's successor, Kumārapāla, is Sam. 1202, Āvina (Prakrit and Sanskrit inscription of Kattywar, p. 158). He must have ascended the throne about this time. The defeat and death of Ballāla must have happened after this. Hence, he cannot by any means be identified with Jayavarman, whose reign came to an end before 1143 A. D.

1 Dvyāraya, Sarga XIX; vide post chapt. IX.

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province of the Caulukyas, who this time established their authority over it on a firmer basis. During this period the imperial Paramāra dynasty became lost in obscurity. There was no longer a "Udayāditya" in Malwa who could offer a strong resistance to the forces of the Caulukyas. Hence the inevitable consequences followed. The Paramāras remained submerged in the depth of the deluge that flooded Malwa for a long period of years.

CHAPTER VI.

PARAMĀRA MAHĀKUMĀRAS.

Kumārāpāla, after the annexation of Malwa, turned his attention to its internal administration. He seems to have divided the country into a number of provinces, which he administered through his governors. The charge of the eastern division was entrusted to the Mahāśādhika Rājyapāla, whose headquarters were at Udayapur in Bhilsa.¹ In 1163 A. D., when this chief was in office, a certain personage, named Vasantapāla, made some donations for the maintenance of the temple of Udaśvara at the town of Udayapur.² Kumārāpāla died in 1172 A. D., and was succeeded by Ajayapāla (1172-1176 A. D.). During his reign, Lānapasāka was in charge of the government of this province.³ In 1172 A. D., Lānapasāka, for the spiritual benefit of his father, granted the village of Umaratha, situated in the Pathaka known as Bhṛmgārikā-Catubṣaṣṭi, in favour of the God Vaidyanātha, at Udayapur.⁴ Here the record describes Udayapur as being situated in the province (maṇḍala) of Bhāilla-svāmi-mahādvā-daśaka (modern Bhilsa). This settles the eastern limit of the kingdom over which the Caulukyas asserted their supremacy in the third quarter of the twelfth century A. D. During this

¹ I. A., Vol. XVIII, p. 343.

² Ibid., pp. 342-43.

³ Ibid., p. 347.

⁴ Ibid.

period, though the imperial dynasty of the Paramāras was lost in obscurity, some of its junior branches continued to rule over the old Paramāra kingdom south of the Vindhya mountains. Their ruling chiefs assumed the titles "Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabd-ālamkāra-virājamāna-mahākumāra".¹ This means that they were great princes who attained the five "mahā-śabdās." The following are the sources of evidence from which we may reconstruct their history:

- A. The copper-plate grant of the Mahārāja Yaśovarman-deva,² dated V. S. 1192=1135 A. D.
- B. The copper-plate grant of the Mahārājādhirāja Jayavarmadeva.³ The genealogy given is—

P. M. P. Udayāditya

P. M. P. Naravarman

P. M. P. Yaśovarman

P. M. P. Jayavarman.

- C. The copper-plate grant of the Mahākumāra Lakṣmī-varmadeva,⁴ dated Sam, 1200=1144 A. D. The kings mentioned are—

P. M. P. Udayāditya

P. M. P. Naravarman

P. M. P. Yaśovarman

Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman.

Here the name of Jayavarman is omitted.

¹ I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 352.

² Ibid., p. 348.

³ Ibid., p. 349.

⁴ Ibid., p. 351.

- D. The Piplianagar grant¹ of the Mahākumāra Hariścandra, dated Sam. 1235 = 1178 A. D. In this the genealogy is given thus—

P. M. P. Udayāditya
 |
 P. M. P. Naravarman
 |
 P. M. P. Yaśovarman
 |
 P. M. P. Jayavarman

Mahākumāra Hariścandra, son of Lakṣmīvarman. Hariścandra is mentioned in the record as having obtained his territory through the favour of Jayavarman.² Lakṣmīvarman does not appear in it among the succeeding rulers. He is merely referred to in the concluding line of the inscription as the father of Hariścandra.

- E. The Bhopal grant of the Mahākumāra Udayavarmanadeva,³ dated Sam. 1256 = 1199 A. D. The kings referred to are—

P. M. P. Yaśovarman
 |
 P. M. P. Jayavarman
 |
 Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman
 |
 Mahākumāra Udayavarman.

¹ J.A.S.B., Vol. VII, p. 736.

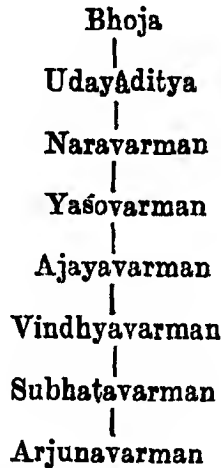
² ... Śrī-Yaśovarmmadeva-pādānudhyāta-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-Śrī-Jayavarmmadeva ity etasmāt prṛthatama-prabhoh prasādād avāpta-nijādhipatyah samasta-prasastopeta-samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabdālamkāra-virājamāna-mahā-kumāra-Śrī-Hariścandra-devah.....iti | sva-hasto 'yam mahā-kumāra-Śrī-Lakṣmīvarmmadeva-suta-mahā-kumāra-Śrī-Hariścandra-deva-Paramāra-kula-kamala-kamala bandhoh ||

(J.A.S.B., Vol. VII, pp. 737, 739).

³ I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 252.

It is stated that, after the conclusion of the reign of Jayavarman, Lakṣmīvarman obtained this sovereignty for himself by force of arms.¹ He was succeeded by Hariścandra's son Udayavarman. Hariścandra is not mentioned here as a successor of Lakṣmīvarman but merely as the father of Udayavarman.

- F. The inscription of Arjunavarman, king of Dhārā, dated 1210, 1213, 1215, A. D.² The pedigree is given thus—



Here Yaśovarman's successor is given as Ajayavarman and not as Jayavarman.

1Jayavarmmadeva-rājye vyatīte nija-kara-kṛta-karavāla prasādvāpta-nij-ādhipatya--samasta--prasastopeta-samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śavd(bd) āla(m)kāra-virājamāna-mahākumāra-śrīmal-Lakṣmīvarmmadeva-pādānudhyāta-samasta-prasastopeta-samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śavd(bd) ālaṃkāra-virājam(ā)na-mahākumāra Śrī-Hariścandra-deva-suta-Śrīmad-Udayavarmadevo vijay-odayī ||

(I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 254.)

2 J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, pp. 25, 32 ; J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p.

G. The Mandhata plate of Devapāla,¹ dated Sam. 1282=1225 A. D. The genealogy given here is the same as that in A., with the additional information that Arjunavarman was succeeded by Devapāla, the son of Hariścandra. In his Harsuda grant² Devapāla assumes the title "Samadhigata-pañca-mahā-śabda," which connects him with the Mahākumāra family. Hence there can be no doubt that his father, Hariścandra, was the same person as the son of Lakṣmīvarman.

Before proceeding to build up the history of the Mahākumāra family out of the above materials, several facts must first be carefully considered. According to the Piplianagar grant, *Hariścandra obtained his dominion through the favour of Jayavarman*. The Bhopal grant, on the other hand, expressly states that Hariścandra's father, Lakṣmīvarman, made himself master of a principality by the force of his sword *when the reign of Jayavarman had come to an end*. It evidently follows from these two statements that Lakṣmīvarman and his son Hariścandra ruled over separate territories.³ This

1 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 108.

2 I. A., Vol. XX, p. 310.

3 Professor Kielhorn reviews the situation in quite a different light, and draws the following conclusions from the above materials :—

"Yaśovarman had three sons, Jayavarman, Ajayavarman and Lakṣmīvarman. Soon after his succession (and certainly some time between Vikrama Sam. 1192 and 1200), Jayavarman was dethroned by Ajayavarman, who, and whose successors then became the main branch of the Paramāra family in Mālava, and continued to style themselves 'Mahārājas'. The third brother, Lakṣmīvarman however, did not submit to Ajayavarman, and, as stated in E, he succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Mālava, which he and his son and grandson de facto

finds strong corroboration in the fact that Udayavarman, the son of Hariścandra, is described by the Bhopal grant as succeeding to the throne of Lakṣmīvarman without the intervention of Hariścandra, who again excludes his father Lakṣmīvarman — in the

ruled over as independent chiefs. At the same time, Lakṣmīvarman and, after him, his son and successor, Hariścandra, looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful sovereign of Mālava, and in my opinion, it is for this reason that Hariścandra, in the grant D, professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Lakṣmīvarman and Hariścandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of Mahākumāra, a title which was handed down to, and adopted by, even Lakṣmīvarman's grandson Udayavarman." (I. A., Vol. XI, p. 348.)

Professor Hall propounds another theory regarding the succession that followed the death of Yaśovarman. He says :—

"As Lakṣmīvarman sat on the throne with his sire, it is reasonable to suppose that he was the first-born. His father Jayavarman also speaks of himself as if a sovereign ruler. Lakṣmīvarman may have died while Hariścandra was still a child, and Jayavarman may have acted as regent on behalf of his nephew, to whom the government eventually devolved from him ; if they did not administer it conjointly. Yet it is noticeable that Jayavarman granted away land at one period precisely as if he were the sole and substantive head of the state. Possibly the extreme youth of his ward prevented his being named at the time. Lakṣmīvarman being mentioned by his son, under the title of 'mahākumāra,' and not as king, it may be that he deceased during the life-time of Yaśovarman. Hariścandra designates himself in a similar manner, where he would certainly have called himself without qualification, sovereign, had he laid claim to undivided power. His complete style, in fact, is that which his father used as prince regent. Policy or some other motive, may have dissuaded him from the style of full royalty, his hereditary right. It may therefore be conjectured that Jayavarman was still living in A. D. 1179." (J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 36.)

Piplianagar grant — as a ruler preceding him. A critical survey of the epigraphic records will show that all these are deliberate representations and not accidental omissions.

The fact that P. M. P. Jayavarman was the immediate successor of Yaśovarman, is borne out by Jayavarman's own inscription, the Piplianagar grant of Hariścandra, dated 1178 A. D., and the Bhopal grant of Udayavarman, 1199 A. D. But the inscriptions of Arjunavarman and Devapāla, the later rulers of the Paramāra dynasty, mention Ajayavarman instead of Jayavarman, as the successor of Yaśovarman. This leads me to think that Jayavarman was identical with Ajayavarman. Nothing is known as to the existence of enmity between Arjunavarman's family and the house of the 'Mahākumāras', which as professor Kielhorn contends, prevented the former from mentioning the name of Jayavarman in the genealogical list of the ruling monarchs of Mālava. It may rather be inferred that there was a close alliance between the two houses, which subsequently helped the peaceful succession of Devapāla, the son of the Mahākumāra Hariścandra, to the throne of Arjunavarman. If Professor Kielhorn is taken to be right in his assertion, then no reason can be offered why Devapāla failed to mention

. With humble submission to the above two most erudite scholars of Indian history, I beg to differ from them in their views. According to the evidence of the inscriptions, there were two ruling houses of the Mahākumāras. I am inclined to believe that Ajayavarman was the same as Jayavarman. About this time the imperial Paramāra government became obscure, and the whole of Malwa, with Dhārā, became part of the Gujarat empire. Consideration of all these points has led me to review the subject in a different light, as I have shown above.

Jayavarman's name in his inscription. Through the favour of Jayavarman, Hariścandra obtained the territory over which his son Devapāla probably ruled in the early years of his life. As a matter of fact, the names 'Jaya' and Ajaya' were used interchangeably in early times. The Cāhamāna Jayadeva king of Śākambhari, was the immediate predecessor of Arṇorāja who was a contemporary of the Caulukya Kumārāpāla. He is mentioned in some of the early records of his family as Ajayadeva.¹ If all these things are taken into consideration, there can hardly be any doubt as to the identification of Jayavarman and Ajayavarman as one and the same king. Keeping these things in view the relation of the mahākumāras may be traced in the following way. Yaśovarman had two sons Jaya or Ajayavarman, and Lakṣmīvarman. Jayavarman, after his accession to the throne of his father, granted some territories to Lakṣmīvarman's son Hariścandra to administer on his behalf. When Ballāla conquered Malwa after overthrowing Jayavarman, Lakṣmīvarman secured by force of arms a part of the old Paramāra kingdom and established there a government of his own. This shows that there were two houses of the Mahākumāras, which were intimately connected with each other, and which ruled over different territories.

In the light of the above discussion, I shall now try to narrate the short history of these collateral branches of the Paramāra family. The rulers of these families are justified in calling themselves 'Mahākumāras', as they were members of the imperial house of Dhārā. But why they continued to bear that subordinate title all through their reigns cannot be clearly explained.

¹ J. A. S. B. Vol. LV, Part I, p. 4, v. 14. Cf. *Prthvīrāja-vijaya*, Sarga v, v. 85.

It may be suggested that they did not assume the title of independent kingship simply from motives of political expediency, in an endeavour to avoid hostility with their powerful enemies, the Cauḷukyas.

HARIŚCANDRA.

It has been noticed in the previous chapter that Jayavarman began his career as an independent monarch and ruled his dominion between the years A. D. 1138 and 1143. At the same time within this period he entrusted Hariścandra with the government of a portion of his kingdom. Hariścandra continued to rule his territory even when the imperial Paramāra family was completely overthrown by Ballāḷa, and Malwa was later on conquered by Kumārapāla. At present we have only one copper-plate inscription of Hariścandra's reign, which was found in the village of Piplianagar, in the Sujalpur pargana, Gwalior State, Central India.¹ It was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse in Sam. 1235=1178 A. D. Its object is to record that Hariścandra, having bathed in the holy water of the Narmada, near the temple of the four-faced Mārkaṇḍeśvara, granted two shares of the registered rents of the village of Palasavāḍa to the learned Brahman Daśaratha, son of the learned Sindhu. It is further stated that, on the full moon of Vaiśākha of the same year, he gave the remaining shares of the above village, with the addition of the shares of both customary dues from the bazaar below the fort of Guṇapura, to the Brahman Malvinu, son of the learned Delu. These grants were communicated to the Government officers, the inhabitants, patels, Brahmans and

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 736.

others of the villages of Mamati and Palasavāḍa, in the Amadāpadra pratijāgaranaka of the Nīlagiri-maṇḍala, for their information.

Of the localities mentioned above, I am inclined to identify Nīlagiri with the modern Nilgarh fort, south of the Vindhya, about a mile north of the Narmada.¹ Guṇapura seems to have been the modern Godurpura, on the south bank of the Narmada.² Palasavāḍa is to be identified with the modern town of Palaswara, in the Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency, sixty-nine miles north of Malegaon. I am unable to identify Amadāpadra and Mamati.

All these give us an idea as to what constituted the dominion of Hariścandra. It comprised the western portion of the old Paramāra kingdom, south of the Vindhya. How long Hariścandra enjoyed his territory cannot be definitely ascertained. He ruled at least from A. D. 1144 to 1178. Devapāla and Udayavarman were his two sons, of whom the former seems to have succeeded to the throne. It will be seen below that Devapāla assumed the sovereignty of Malwa between the years A. D. 1215 and 1218, after the death of Arjunavarman.

LAKṢMĪVARMAN.

Lakṣmivarman, the son of Yaśovarman, was a powerful chief. His elder brother, Jayavarman, seems to have been killed in battle against the Oḷukyas of Karnaṭa. In that period of transition Lakṣmivarman collected strength, and forcibly took possession of the eastern part of the Paramāra empire, south of the

¹ Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 55B; A3.

² Ibid., A4. The place is also mentioned in Vākpati-Muñja's grant, dated V. S. 1036, Vide ante, p. 46.

Vindhya. An inscription¹ of his reign has been discovered. In Sam. 1200=1144 A. D., on the occasion of the eclipse of the moon, he re-affirmed the grant made by Yaśovarman in Sam. 1191, with a view to increasing the religious merit of his father.

Of the localities mentioned in the record, the village Vaḍauda may be identical with Vaḍauda of the Mandhata plate of Jayavarman II,² where it is described as a village in Mahaudapathaka. Professor Kielhorn is inclined to identify it with the modern village of Burud, about three miles north-east of Satajuna, which lies 13 miles south-west of Mandhata.³ As regards the rest of the localities, I cannot offer any suggestion.

Lakṣmīvarman died some time before 1184 A. D. and was succeeded by his grandson Udayavarman, the son of Hariścandra.

UDAYAVARMAN.

An inscription,⁴ dated Sam. 1256=1199 A. D., of Udayavarman's reign, has been discovered in a field at the village Uljamun, in the Bhopal State. It records that, after bathing in the river Revā (Narmada), at a place called Guvāḍaghāṭṭa, he granted the village of Guṇaurā to a Brahman named Mālūsarman, the son of Yajñadhara. The village granted was situated in Voḍa-sirā forty-eight, belonging to the Narmadāpura pratijā-garaṇaka, in the Vindhya-maṇḍala. The maṇḍalika kṣemvarāja was the 'dūtaka' of this grant.

¹ I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 351, Vide ante, p. 164.

² E. I., Vol. IX, p. 121.

³ Ibid., p. 120.

⁴ I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 252.

Mr. Fleet¹ identifies Gunaurā with the modern village of 'Ganora', seven miles south-west of Hoshangabad. Narmadāpura, according to him, is identical with the modern Hoshangabad District, and Guvāḍāghatta is the present village of Guaria, on the left bank of the Narmada. I think the modern Nemawar, on the right bank of the Narmada, represents the ancient Narmadāpura.

An inscription² of the reign of one Udayāditya, dated Sam. 1241=1184 A. D., is now lying in Bhopal. Another inscription³ of the same chief, dated Śaka 1108=1186 A. D., is to be found in the 'Vidyāmandira', in the Bhopal State. In the latter part of the twelfth century A. D., no king of the name of Udayāditya is known to have ruled in Bhopal. The Bhopal grant, referred to above, bears witness to the fact that about that time Udayavarman was ruling over the Hoshangabad District and a part of the Bhopal State. In these circumstances, Udayāditya may very reasonably be identified with Udayavarman.

The reign of Udayavarman seems to have extended into the early years of the thirteenth century A. D. Nothing is known about his successors. Devapāla, after his accession to the throne of Malwa, issued a grant of land in the Hoshangabad District⁴ in 1218 A. D. This shows that by that time the territory of Udayavarman had passed into his brother's hands.

From all the above circumstances, it follows that, when in the fourth decade of the twelfth century A. D.,

¹ I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 253.

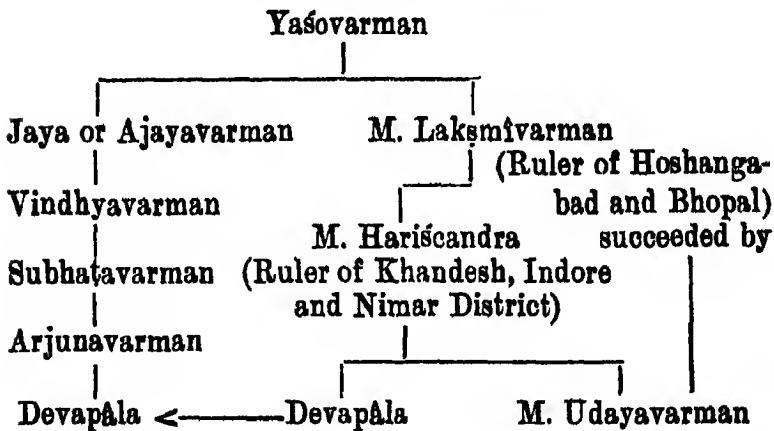
² J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 35.

³ Bhūpāle bhūmipāl-o'yam-Udayāditya-pārthivah |
tenedaṃ nirmitaṃ sthānaṃ vasu-pūrveśvaraib Śakeḥ (Ibid.)

⁴ I. A., Vol. XX, p. 310.

the main Paramāra dynasty was overthrown, and a Gujarat sovereignty was established in its place, two junior branches of the former house under the designation of 'Mahākumāra' continued to hold sway over the modern districts of Nimar, Hoshangabad and Khandesh. But, at last, early in the thirteenth century A. D., a member of this family succeeded to the main Paramāra kingdom, and reunited these branches with the main dynasty.

The genealogy of the Mahākumāras :—



CHAPTER VII.

FALL OF THE PARAMÂRAS OF MALWA.

The downfall of the imperial Caulukya sovereignty in Gujarat, as a matter of fact, set in after the death of Kumârapâla in 1172 A. D. His nephew and successor, Ajayapâla (1172-1176 A. D.), was not highly talented, and lacked political wisdom and commanding personality. He persecuted the Jainas, and thereby created a hostile faction in the very heart of his realm. The Jaina temples were demolished and Râmacandra, a disciple of Hemacandra, was roasted alive.¹ The king's victory over the ruler of the Sapâdalakṣa country no doubt won laurels for him,² but his failure in other directions was terribly disastrous. About this time, the Guhila chief, Sâmantasimha, invaded Gujarat. In the encounter that followed, Ajayapâla received a severe wound, and being disabled, left the battlefield with a broken heart.³ The prestige of the Caulukya sovereignty was saved in that fateful war by the Paramâra Prahlâdana, Prince of Abu, whose skilful management of the army forced the enemy to retreat.⁴ After a short reign of four years, in 1176 A. D., Ajayapâla lost his life at the hand of his doorkeeper, who plunged a dagger into his heart.⁵ Mûlarâja II (1176-1178 A. D.), who was called Bâla-Mûlarâja on

1 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 153.

2 I. A., Vol. VI, p. 186.

3 Someśvara's Surathotsava, Sarga I, v. 38.

4 E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 202, 211, v. 38.

5 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 154.

account of his extreme youth, succeeded him on the throne. ¹

RECONQUEST OF MALWA BY VINDHYAVARMAN.

When the Gujarat sovereignty was represented by these weaklings, the Paramāras once more tried to regain their ancestral home of Malwa. Vindhyavarman was the son of the deposed Jayavarman, who was, in my opinion, the same as Ajayavarman. Nothing is known about his early career. When all hope of recovering his father's dominions vanished, he seems to have tried his fortune in the south after the death of Jagadekamalla II in an invasion of the tottering Cālukya empire. But his attempt was frustrated by Taila II, between the years 1150 and 1153 A. D. ² During this period he probably ruled some part of Malwa south of the Vindhya mountain, or it may be that in his early days he lived as an honourable guest in the houses of the Mahākumāras, and temporised for a fitting opportunity to fall upon the Gurjaras. The death of Kumārapāla removed a strong personality from the Anhilwar government, and the Gujarat sovereignty, as has been noticed above, fell into the hands of weak rulers. The situation thus became quite favourable to the plans of Vindhyavarman, who was so anxiously watching his opportunity. He marched his army to Malwa in the early part of the reign of Mūlarāja II, and, after a strenuous campaign, recovered the whole country with its capital Dhārā from the grip of the Gurjaras. The Mandhata plate of Devapāla states that Vindhyavarman was eager to extirpate the Gurjaras, and

¹ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 195.

² E. I., Vol. V, p. 235.

rescued Dhārā by force of arms.¹ This is corroborated by the inscription of Arjunavarman.² The Caulukyās, although handicapped by adverse circumstances, did not, however, let the matter pass so easily. Malwa was a great acquisition to the resources of the Gujarat empire. Kumāra, the general of Mûlarāja II, who was also a house-priest of the royal family of the Caulukyās, was despatched with a large army against Vindhyavarman. He put severe pressure upon the Paramāras, and seems to have achieved some preliminary victories. The Surathotsava³ tells us that Kumāra, on behalf of his master, Mûlarāja II, fought a severe battle with Vindhyavarman, king of Dhārā, who left the battlefield though puffed up with pride. A town named Gogasthāna, belonging to that monarch, was destroyed by him, and a well was sunk on the site of his palace. Kumāra also plundered the Mālava country and took away all its

1 ...tasmād Ajayavarmābhūj jayaśrī-vīśrutah śu (su) taḥ ||
Tat-sūnur vvīra-mûrddhanyo dhanyotpati (tti) r ajāyata !
Gûrjaro-ccheda-nirvv(bb)amdhî Viṃdhyavarmā mahā
-bhujah ||

Dhārayoddhrtayā sārddham dadhāti sma tridhāratām |
sāmyugīnasya yasyāsis trātum loka-trayīm iva ||

(E. I., Vol. IX, p. 108).

On this Professor Kielhorn remarks that—"By itself the sword had two edges (dhārā); the town of Dhārā, retaken by it, became the third edge (dhārā)."... (Ibid., p. 114, Footnote 2.)

2 J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 378, vs. 12, 13; J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 26, vs. 13, 12.

3 Dhārādhiśe Viṃdhyavarmany avandhya-krodhādmāte
'pyājim utsrjyate |

Gogasthānam pattanam tasya bhañktvā saudha-sthāne
khānito yena kûpah || 36

Gṛhītam kupyatā kupyam Mālaveśvara-deśataḥ |

Dattam punar Gayā-śrāddhe yenākupyam akupyatā || 37.

(Someśvara's Surathotsava, Sarga V, Kāvya-mālā, No. 72)

wealth, though he did not find there any gold or silver.

There can hardly be any doubt that Vindhyavarman ultimately emerged victorious, whatever misfortune might have overtaken him in the early stages of the war. It will be seen below that he was on the throne of Malwa in the tenth decade of the twelfth century A. D., long after the death of Mūlarāja II. Thus, after about a quarter of a century, Malwa resumed her life and work under the supremacy of the Paramāras. Vindhyavarman restored peace and order in the country, which in the course of a few years regained its normal state. The fear of attack from Gujarat was temporarily annulled by the state of anarchy which prevailed in that country shortly after the accession of Bhīma II to the throne of Anhilwar,¹ but in the south, the situation remained as complex as before.

In the second half of the twelfth century A. D., the Paramāras and the Caulukyas of Gujarat suffered indeed the loss of imperial position, but their southern neighbour, the Cālukyas of Kalyani, met with a worse fate. Their government, after passing through a period of extreme stress and strain, became totally extinct by the ninth decade of the twelfth century A. D., and made room for another set of ruling dynasties. In 1162 A. D., the Kalacuri Bijjala, who was the general of the Cālukya Taila III, ruled over the Deccan after overthrowing his master.² In 1167 A. D., he abdicated his throne in favour of his son Somadeva (1167-1177 A. D.),³ who was again succeeded by Saṅkama (1177-1181 A. D.). In 1182 A. D., Someśvara IV, successor of Taila III,

¹ Kīrtikaumudī, Sarga II, v. 61.

² Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 473-477.

³ Ibid., p. 484.

recovered the throne of the Deccan, by putting an end to the rule of the Kalacuris.¹ But, before he could firmly establish his authority, the Yādavas of Devagiri and the Hoysaḷas of Dorasamudra fell upon him, and divided his kingdom between them some time before 1189 A. D.² The Yādavas found a strong king in the person of Bhīllama (1187-1191 A. D.), who soon secured for his family the northern and eastern divisions of the Cālukya empire.

But notwithstanding this new upheaval and the changes of dynasty in the Deccan, the danger of attack from that quarter to the Paramāra government was not removed. The imperial Cālukya dynasty was, no doubt, extinct, but its ambition for extensive conquest was inherited by the usurpers. Invasions of Malwa from the south were of constant occurrence. The Kalacuri Soma³ waged successful wars against the Mālavas and the Gurjaras between 1167 and 1172 A. D. At this period, as has been pointed out, the Gurjaras occupied, by force of arms, the northern divisions of Malwa. The territories south of the Vindhya were ruled by the Paramāra Mahākumāras. The Mālavas defeated by the Kalacuris seem to have been those junior princes.

WAR WITH THE HOYSALAS.

Between A. D. 1173 and 1177 the Hoysaḷas under Ballāḷa II (1173-1220 A. D.) made a predatory excursion on Malwa. The Arsikere inscription,⁴ dated 1177 A. D., records that, when Ballāḷa II mounted his horse for an expedition of victory, Gurjara trembled; Mālava gained

¹ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 464.

² Ibid., p. 466.

³ E. I., Vol. XV, p. 325, Madagihāḷ inscription.

⁴ E. C., Vol. V, A. K., No. 62.

the thickets of the Vindhya ; Colika spent his time on the sea-shore. The Balagami stone inscription, ¹ dated 1192 A.D., tells us that 'he wore out Mālava by entering it with great force'. When the Hoysalas were thus ravaging the countries all around them, a league was formed by a number of ruling princes for putting an effective check upon their power. The leader of this confederacy was probably the Coḷa Kulottuṅga II (1178-1216 A. D.). Vindhavarman was no less interested than his neighbours in the suppression of the rising Hoysalas. He joined the league and contributed armies for its success. The allied forces made an onslaught on Mysore and confronted the Hoysalas. But Ballāḷa II proved himself equal to the occasion, and successfully routed them. Gaṅga Narasiṃha was a feudatory of the Hoysalas. An inscription, ² dated 1190 A. D., of his reign states that "The master of elephants, the Mālava king, the warlike Lāḷa (Lāṭa), distinguished for his troops of horse, the Gūrjjara king with the Coḷa king, united came against him, but he by himself fought and subdued them in the field of battle, having received the command from the king Ballāḷa II,—this Narasiṃha". The Arsikere inscription, ³ dated 1209 A. D., says that Ballāḷa II was a fever to Coḷa, Mālava, and Gūrjjara. The Kadur inscription, ⁴ dated 1207 A. D., reports that he trampled on the Coḷas and slew the Mālava army.

WAR WITH THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

The Yādava Bhillama, who obtained paramount sovereignty in 1187 A. D., made an extensive scheme

¹ Mysore Inscription, p. 104,

² E. C., Vol. VI, Kd. No. 156.

³ Ibid., Vol. V, A. K. No. 40.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. VI, Kd. No. 127.

for military excursions in the north. He seems, in the first place, to have fallen upon the territory of Vindhya-varman, and to have made a successful raid over it. Next, having defeated the Caulukya Bhīma II (1179-1239 A. D.), he forced his way into southern Marwar, where his progress was checked by Kelhana, the Cāhamāna king of Nadol.¹ The Mutgi inscription² of his reign, dated 1189 A. D., describes him as "a severe pain in the head of the Mālavas" and "the dread roar of a cloud to the flocks of those swans the Gūrjjaras," etc. At this time, Malwa and Gujarat were respectively under the rule of Vindhya-varman and Bhīma II. Bhīllama's northern expeditions did not, however, win anything for him beyond empty glory. Vindhya-varman's reign continued for some time after that passing episode.

When the Yādavas were thus keenly displaying their military skill in the north, and the Paramāras and the Caulukyas were busy defending their territories, Moslems under their great general, Shihāb-ud-dīn Muḥammad of Ghor, knocked again on the door of Hindustan. This time they came with the vision of establishing a Moslem empire in India. After a series of conflicts, which had been carried on during the last few years, the Moslems and the Hindus confronted each other on the battlefield of Taraori in 1192 A. D. Prthvirāja, the great Cāhamāna king of Ajmer, who only two years previously had inflicted a severe wound on Shihāb-ud-dīn and routed his army, found himself quite helpless on this occasion, owing to the callousness and indifference of the other princes of Hindustan. Prthvirāja fell fighting on the battle-field, and the whole of Northern Hindustan together with Ajmer

¹ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 77, v. 34; Vol. XI, pp. 72-73.

² Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 34-35, v. 9.

was taken possession of by the Moslems. The Moslems then began to persecute the peaceful Hindus. Devastation and plunder followed in their train. Temples were razed to the ground and idols overthrown and broken. Malwa and the countries beyond it became the resort of those who wished to save themselves from the tyranny of the plunderers. Āśādhara, a Jaina teacher, narrates in his commentary on the *Dharmāmṛta*¹ that when the Sapādalakṣa country was being subjugated by Sāhibavandina (Shihāb-ud-dīn), king of the Turuṣkas, he, being afraid of religious persecution, migrated with all his family to Malwa, which was then governed by the king Vindhya. Vijayavarman was another name for this sovereign. His minister of peace and war was Bilhāṇa. An inscription, discovered at Mandu,² also corroborates the fact that Bilhāṇa was in the ministerial department of this monarch. From the above account it follows that Vindhyaavarman was on the throne of Malwa after 1193 A. D.

Vindhyaavarman's prowess as an able soldier and an astute general can hardly be over-estimated. Though he suffered a defeat at the hands of the Hoysaḷas and the Yādavas, he rendered immeasurable service to his family by re-establishing the Paramāra supremacy in Malwa. It was due to his boundless perseverance and untiring energy that Malwa became free from foreign control. Nothing is known as to the exact date at which his rule came to an end. He was succeeded by his son Subhāṭavarman, who was also known as Sohāḍa.³

1 *Grantha-prāśasti*, v. 5 ff, commentary.

2 Unpublished.

3 *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 154.

SUBHATAVARMAN.

No inscription of Subhatavarman's reign has been discovered. He was a worthy son of his father, and inherited all his military skill. The state of degeneration to which Gujarat was reduced, did not escape his attention, and it seems to have aroused in his heart a burning desire to avenge the wrong done to his family by its former rulers. We have seen that, since the accession of Ajayapāla, the Caulukyās had been rapidly degenerating into insignificance. The situation in Gujarat became more serious when Mūlarāja II's successor, Bhīma II, ascended the throne. His ministers and feudatories divided his kingdom among themselves, and began to rule as independent chiefs. In that troublous period Arṇorāja, son of the sister of Kumārapāla's mother, made a bold stand against all these odds for the protection of the sovereignty of Bhīma. But his attempt to reorganise the kingdom cost him his life. Then his son Lavaṇaprasāda, came forward and set himself to carry out the task left unfinished by his father.¹

CONQUEST OF LĀṬA.

This state of disorder in Gujarat soon tempted foreign adventurers to plunder its riches. The southern king Bhīllama,² and the king of Meru (Maru),³ who seems to have been the Cāhamāna Kelhana or his successor Kīrtipāla, marched their army into the border of Gujarat, but were routed by Lavaṇaprasāda. To make matters worse, in 1194 A. D., the whole of the

¹ Sukṛtasamkīrtana, Sarga III, vs. 19-20.

² E.I., Vol. XV, pp. 34-35; *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 23, v. 18; Kīrtikaumudī, Sarga II, vs. 69, 74, 75.

³ E.I., Vol. I, p. 23, v. 18.

country was laid waste by Qutb-ud-din Aibak, who slew the Cauḷukya general, Kunwar Pal, and forced Bhīma II to flee for his life.¹ Subhatavarman lost no time in seizing this opportunity to advance with his army towards the Cauḷukya empire.

Since the latter part of the eleventh century A. D., the Anhilwar government had been asserting its supremacy over Lāṭa.² The Paramāra army seems to have directed its march in the first place, against this country. It was ravaged and conquered by Subhatavarman, and was finally incorporated into his dominion. He plundered its riches and destroyed and sacked a large number of Jaina temples. At this time the Lāṭa chief Siṃha, who was a feudatory of the Cauḷukyās, seems to have transferred his allegiance to the Paramāras.³ The Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī of Jayasiṃha relates⁴ that Vastupāla erected many buildings, repaired the temple of Pārśvanātha at Stambhana, and restored nineteen golden capitals in the temple of Vaidyanātha at Dabhoi, which had been taken away by Subhata, king of Mālava. The Vasantavilāsa⁵ of Bālacandra also narrates that the minister Tejapāla repaired a series of Jaina temples

1 Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 194 ; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 43.

2 Navasari grant, *J.Bo. Br.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 250.

3 Hammīra-mada-mardana, *Aṅka II*, p. 17.

4 Śrī-Mālavendra-Subhateṇa suvarṇa-kumbhān-uttāritān
punar api kṣtipāla-mantri |

Śrī-Vaidyanātha-sura-sadmani Darbhavatyām ekonaviṃ-
śatim api prasabham vyadhata || v. 174. (*Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, No. X.)

5 Tejapāla-sacivasya Bṛhaspaty-uficchanam bhavatu
viṣṭapam etat |

Uddadhāra Jina-mālam Mālavīya-dalitām-abhito yaḥ || v. 4.
(*Sarga V*, *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, No. VII.)

which were demolished by the Mālava army. That Lāta became, at this time, a part of the Mālava kingdom cannot be doubted. Subhaṭavarman's successor, Arjunavarman, as will be seen later on, issued a grant while residing in Bhṛgukaccha, the capital of Lāta.¹

INVASION OF GUJARAT.

The Paramāra army, after establishing a firm footing in Lāta, directed its march against the Gujarat capital Anhilwar. The city was stormed and burnt to the ground.² The whole of Gujarat was now at the mercy of Subhaṭavarman. His armies carried all before them, plundering and devastating till they reached the gates of the city of Somanātha in Saurāstra. But at that point they were routed, and forced to retreat by Śrīdhara, a governor under Bhīma II. An inscription of the reign of Śrīdhara,³ dated Sam. 1273 = 1216 A. D., tells us that "he quickly made again stable by the power

1 Vide post, p. 201.

2 Tasyāmuṣyāyaṇaḥ putraḥ sutrāma-śrīr athāśiṣat |
bhūpaḥ Subhaṭavarmmeti dharmme tiṣṭhan mahī-talam || 14
Yasya jvalati da(di)g-jetuḥ pratāpas tapana-dyuteḥ |
dāvāgni-cchadmā (dma) nādyāpi garjjad-Gūrjjara

-pattane || 15,

(E. I., Vol. IX, p. 121, Mandhata plate of Devapāla and Jayavarman II.) 'Pattana' here means Anahilapattana (E. I., Vol. IX, p. 114, fn. 3). In some Mount Abu inscriptions the word 'Pattana' is used as a substitute for that city; cf. E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 224, No. XII and p. 229, No. XXXII.

3 ...(Mālava tamāla)-vanāyamāna-senā-gaja-prakara

-bhaṃguritāṃ bhuvaṃ yaḥ |

(bhū)yaḥ sthiraṃ sapadī maṃtra-valena-kṛtvā Śrī

-Devapattanam apālayad ātma-śaktyā ||

(E. I., Vol. II, pp. 444-445, v. 42; p. 439, Śrīdhara's :

Devapattana-praśasti.)

of his 'mantra' (by his political wisdom or charms) the country that had been shaken by the multitude of the (impetuous) war-elephants of Mālava, resembling a forest of dark tamāla trees, and he protected glorious Devapattana by his own power."

Devapattana is identical with Somanāthapattana.

While Subhaṭavarman was thus traversing Gujarat from one end to the other, Lavaṇaprasāda, the minister of Bhīma II, collected a powerful army, and put up a successful opposition to him. Subhaṭavarman found it difficult to withstand this formidable contingent, and withdrew from Gujarat with all his armies. The Kīrtikaumudī,¹ when celebrating the magnificent achievements of Lavaṇaprasāda, tells us that the king of Nadula was defeated by him; on account of his stubborn opposition and personal valour, the king of Dhārā had to retrace his steps, and the king of the Deccan avoided hostility. Merutuṅga² narrates that, during the reign of Bhīma II, Sohaḍa, king of Mālava, attacked Gujarat, but retreated when the Caulukya minister made some inauspicious utterances. The Dabhoi inscription,³ which is very fragmentary, records that "Lavaṇaprasāda, who was a repository of medicine-like valour, cured (his country) when the crowd of the princes of Dhārā, of the Dakhin and of Mālava, who resembled diseases, (attacked it)."

Professor Bühler thinks that it was Arjunavarman who was defeated by Śrīdhara (E. I., Vol. II, p. 439). But, in view of the fact that Subhaṭavarman entered into the interior of Gujarat and ravaged Anhilwar, I am inclined to identify him with the adversary of Śrīdhara. We have no evidence to prove that Arjunavarman ever forced his way into Gujarat.

¹ Sarga II, vs. 69, 74, 75.

² Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 154.

³ E. I., Vol. I, p. 23.

All these evidences prove that Subhaṭavarman was unable to establish his authority permanently in Gujarat.

WAR WITH THE YĀDAVAS.

The cause of Subhaṭavarman's failure to hold Gujarat under his control may be traced to the fact that the situation on the southern border of his kingdom again became very serious, and urgently required his presence there. The Yādava Bhīllama was then dead, and had been succeeded by Jaitugi (1191-1210 A.D.). Jaitugi was as much ambitious as his valiant predecessor, and, within a short time of his accession, made a raid over Malwa. The Mālava general, who seems to have been appointed to guard its southern boundary, sustained a defeat at his hands. An inscription from Mongoli,¹ dated about 1200 A. D., records that Jaitugi defeated a leader of the forces of Mālava. It was after all nothing more than an ephemeral success, and the government at Dhārā evidently did not suffer any material loss on account of it.

Subhaṭavarman was highly talented in the art of war. Some of his valorous activities have already been discussed, though our stock of knowledge regarding his further adventurous excursions, is very meagre. He merits the whole credit for incorporating Lāṭa into the Paramāra kingdom. He was pious and devoted to religious practices.² His son Arjunavarman succeeded him shortly before 1210 A. D.

ARJUNAVRMAN.

The coronation of Arjunavarman took place in the month of February, 1210 A. D. Three epigraphic records of his reign have been discovered.

¹ E. I., Vol. V, p. 31.

² Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 108, v. 14.

(i) A copper-plate inscription¹ was brought to light while ploughing in the village of Piplianagar, in the Shujalpur pargana, Gwalior State. It was issued by Arjunavarman, on the occasion of his coronation, on the 10th day of Phālguna, Sam. 1267 = February 1210 A. D., from the fort of Mamdapa. It records the grant of a village, named Pidivīdi, in the Sakapura pratijāgarāṇaka, to his priest Govinda. Govinda was a resident of Mukṭāvastu. His father was Jaitrasimha, who was the son of Somadeva and the grandson of Delhana Avasavika. The record was written by the 'Rāja Guru' (royal preceptor) Madana, with the concurrence of the learned Bilhana.

Of the localities mentioned, Mamdapa is the modern Mandu, in the Dhar State. I am inclined to identify Sakapura pratijāgarāṇaka with Shujalpur pargana, and the village Pidivīdi with Piplianagar, where the record was unearthed.

(ii) The second inscription² registers the fact that Arjunavarman, on the 15th Āṣāḍha, having bathed at the holy place of Somavati, entrusted to the charge of his family-priest, Govinda, the temple of Daṇḍādhipati, in the city of Mahākāla. Now on the 15th of Vaiśākha, Sam. 1270 = April, 1213 A. D., on the occasion of a solar eclipse, while residing at Bhṛgukaccha, he notifies to all the royal officials, Brahmans, residents, village-headman, people and others concerned, that he granted to the same priest the village of Uttarāyana, attached to Sāvairisola. The record was drawn up by the royal preceptor, Madana, with the acquiescence of the minister of peace and war, the learned Bilhana. Sāvairisola probably means a group of sixteen villages

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 378.

² J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 33.

called Sāvairi, which may be identified with Savda, a town in the Khandesh District, north of the Tapti. Bhrgukaccha is evidently the modern Broach, and Mahākāla is Ujjain. I cannot offer any suggestion for Uttarāyana.

(iii) The third inscription¹ of the king's reign was issued when he was residing in the holy place of Amareśvara. There, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, Sam. 1272 = September, 1215 A. D., after bathing at the junction of the Revā and the Kapilā and worshipping the lord of Bhavānti, Omkāra, he granted Govinda Śarman some tracts of land in the village of Hathināvara, situated on the north bank of the Narmada, in the pratijāgaranaka of Pagārā. This record was also composed by the royal preceptor Madana, with the consent of Rāja Salakhana, the minister of peace and war. Amareśvara is the well-known place of pilgrimage, near the island of Mandhata, on the south bank of the Narmada. The Kapila takes its rise in the high land of Khandesh, and disembogues opposite the temple of Omkāra Mandhata, east of the Churar. The modern state of Pagar, in the Hoshangabad District, probably represents the ancient Pagārā. I am unable to identify Hathināvara.

Arjunavarman assumed the title of Trividhavīracūḍāmani.² Nārāyana was his chief minister,³ and Bilhana was his minister of peace and war. Bilhana was relieved of his office for some time by Rāja Salakhana, who seems to have been the father of the great Jaina teacher Āśādhara.

¹ J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 25.

² E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 102, v. 7; J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 26.

³ I. A., Vol. VI, p. 196.

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

Arjunavarman continued the war with the Caulukyas. During his rule the Gujarat kingdom sank into a still more deplorable condition. Shortly before 1210 A. D., a usurper, named Jayasimha, deposed Bhīma II, and wielded for some time the sovereignty of Anhilwar. An inscription of Jayasimha's reign, dated 1223 A.D., has been discovered,¹ where he styles himself the sovereign lord of Gujarat. The other provincial governors, however, did not acknowledge his authority and still regarded Bhīma II as their suzerain lord. When Gujarat was thus parcelled out among rival factions, Arjunavarman advanced against it with his elephant forces. He met with Jayasimha in the valley of the Parva mountain. Jayasimha could not withstand the attack of his enemy's force and fled away. Subsequently a treaty seems to have been concluded between the two kings by which Jayasimha's daughter Vijayaśrī was given in marriage to Arjunavarman.²

¹ I. A., Vol. VI, p. 196.

² Ibid.

³ Professor Hultzsch offers two suggestions for the identification of Jayasimha as mentioned in the Paramāra grants. (E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 99.) The first supports Mr. Hall's view that Jayasimha was no other than Bhīma II. Mr. Hall remarks that "Bhīma II is called, in one inscription, 'a second Siddharāja', Siddharāja having been the title of one of Jayasimha's ancestors. May not Bhīma have been popularly called 'a second Jayasimha' also? If so, there was a taunting appositeness in Arjuna's choosing to give him this designation, dropping the qualification of 'second'; since the real Jayasimha aggressed on Mālava, took Dhārā by storm, defeated Arjuna's predecessor, Yaśovarman, and carried him captive to Analavata." (J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, pp. 39-40.)

The earliest known record which contains this fact of Jayasimha's flight is the Piplianagar grant of Arjunavarman, dated 1210 A. D. The other two records of the same monarch and the inscriptions of Devapāla and Jayavarman also corroborate Jayasimha's defeat.¹ All of them simply mention the name of the vanquished chief, and give no details about his political relations. In Jayavarman's grant the name is given as Jaitrasimha, instead of Jayasimha.² The Dharprasasti of Arjunavarman furnishes us with rather more detailed

The second suggestion is that Jayasimha might have been the same as Jayantasimha Abhinava-Siddharāja, who temporarily usurped the throne of Bhīma II. I subscribe to this second view, with Professor Kielhorn (E. I., Vol. IX, p. 118, footnote 2), though there is some difficulty in accepting it unreservedly. An inscription, dated 1216 A. D., issued by Śrīdhara, the governor of Somanāthapattana, and another inscription, dated 1218 A. D., issued by Sāmantasimha, the governor of Saurāṣṭra, (E. I., Vol. II, p. 439; Prakrit and Sanskrit inscription of Kattywar, p. 205), describe Bhīma II as their overlord, who is reported to have been ruling in Anhilwar. The only definite date of Jayasimha's rule that is known is 1223 A. D. If he is assumed to have been defeated by Arjunavarman between the years 1209 and 1210 A. D., it should be maintained, according to the above two private grants, that his rule was interrupted by Bhīma II between 1215 and 1218 A. D. This hypothesis seems quite unlikely. The situation, which is apparently very anomalous, may be viewed in another way. Jayasimha was no more than a usurper. Though he occupied the throne of Anhilwar by force of arms, the provincial governors of Gujarat did not acknowledge his authority, and might have continued to regard Bhīma II as their suzerain lord.

1 Deva-bhūyaṃ gate tasmin naṃdano' RJJUNA-bhūpatiḥ ।
doṣṇā dhatte' dhunā dhātrī-valayaṃ valayaṃ yathā. ॥ 16. Vā (bā)-
la-llāhave yasya Jayasimhe palāyite.....

(E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 108-109.)

2 Ibid., p. 121, v. 17.

information about this battle. It was found engraved on a slab of stone in the Bhojaśālā, at Dhar.¹ It was composed by the royal preceptor Madana, and contains the two first acts of a drama of four acts, called Pārijāta-mañjari or Vijayaśrī. The remaining portions are lost. It was first staged in the temple of Sarasvatī,² at Dhārā, in the spring festival, when Arjunavarman was ruling in Mālava. The king is described as the son of Subhaṭa and a descendant of the great Bhoja.

The dramatis personae are :—

Sutradhāra	...	The stage manager.
Naṭī	...	The actress.
Arjunavarman	...	The king.
Kaṇcukin	...	The Chamberlain.
Kusumākara	...	The royal gardener.
Vidagdha	...	The Jester.
Vayasya	...	The royal companion.
Sarvakalā	...	The Queen.
Kanakalekhā	...	The Queen's maid.
Vasantalilā	...	The wife of Kusumākara.
Pārijātamañjari or Vijayaśrī	...	The daughter of Jayasimha, the king of Gujarat.

The scene of the first act, entitled "Vasantotsava" (the spring festival), is the top floor of the royal palace, and that of the second act, entitled "Tāḍaṅka-darpaṇa," is the pleasure-garden on the hill of Dhārā. The main theme of the play is as follows :—

Upon one occasion, in the valley of the Parva mountain, the Trividhavātracuḍāmaṇi Arjunavarman was

¹ E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 101.

² Ibid., p. 103, vs. 4, 9.

engaged in a battle with Jayasimha,¹ the king of the Gurjaras. Jayasimha, being severely defeated, fled from the battlefield.² The Paramāra king, who was then mounted on his war elephant, found a "pārijāta-mañjarī" (a cluster of blossoms of a celestial tree) falling on his breast, which, when he touched it, immediately turned into a beautiful maiden. She was the daughter of the Cauḷukya king, and her name was Jayaśrī.³ Arjunavarman heard a heavenly voice, asking him to enjoy her. She was taken to Dhārā and was placed under the care of the gardener Kusumākara. Her residence was fixed in the emerald pavilion on the hill of Dhārā, where she was attended by Kusumākara's wife, Vasantallā.

Sarvakalā, the queen of Arjunavarman, who was the daughter of the Kuntala king,⁴ was performing the 'Madhu' ceremony in a pleasure-garden on the hill of Dhārā. The king, attired in the robes of spring and accompanied by his jester, entered the garden in order to watch the ceremony. Vijayaśrī and Vasantallā were also witnessing it from behind a tree, screened from notice. Vasantallā moved aside the branch of

1 Trividha-vīra-cudāmaṇeḥ sārvaabhauma-Śrī-Bhojadevānvaya-mūrdhanyasya rājñāḥ Śrīmad-Arjunavarman-devasya Gūrjara-patīnā Jayasimhena saha Parva-parvatopatya-kā-parisareṣu Hiraṇyakaśipu-kadana-kupita-vaikuṇṭha-kamṭhīra-va-kamṭha-nāda-cakita-digvāraṇendra-mukta-viśvaṃbharā-nipatanodvela-saptārṇava-lahari-sampheta-tulya-tumula-kolāhalaḥ kalaho va(ba)bhūva. || (E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 102, II. 7-8.)

2 ... prativa(balle) palāyamāne jaya-simdhura-skamdhā-dhīrūḍhasya ... (ibid., line 9.)

3 Cauḷukya-mahī-mahendra-duhitā devī Jayaśrī... (Ibid., p. 103, line 11.)

4 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 103, v. II.

Kuntalemdra-sutā seyaṃ rājñāḥ Sarvakalā priyā.

a tree, and, in doing so, revealed Vijayaśrī's face, which was at once reflected on the ear-ring of the queen, engaged at the moment in the ritual of the ceremony. The king, however, noticed the occurrence, and was moved with joy. The sudden change in his expression aroused the suspicion of the queen, and, upon ascertaining the cause, she immediately left the garden in anger, accompanied by her maid. The king followed her, and endeavoured to appease her wrath, but all to no purpose, until at last he promised to forsake the company of Vijayaśrī.

The heroine, broken-hearted and distracted with grief, threatened to commit suicide, and finally departed, followed by Vasantalilā.

Here ends the second act. The remaining portions being lost, nothing is known as to the conclusion of the drama. It may be surmised that the king eventually succeeded in obtaining the queen's consent to his marriage with Vijayaśrī, and that the drama closed with their conjugal union.

The main back ground of this play seems to have been based on actual facts.

It has been shown in a foregoing chapter, that the chief object of Padmagupta's Navasahasāṅka-carita was to celebrate Sindhurāja's union with a princess of the Nāga family. Candaladevī, the heroine of the Vikramāṅkadeva-carita, is considered to have been the real name of the queen of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI.¹ The fight between Arjunavarman and Jayasimha is evidenced by many contemporary records. Hence I agree with Professor Hultzsch² in thinking that the chief personages in the above play were real and not

¹ Vikramāṅkadeva-carita, Introduction, pp. 38—Bühler,

² E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 100-101.

imaginary beings. Sarvakalā seems to have been the daughter of the Hoysala Vira-Ballāla II (1172-1219 A.D.) who warred with Vindhyavarman. Merutunga also refers to Arjunavarman's victory over Gujarat, though he does not mention the name of his opponent.³

WAR WITH THE YĀDAVAS.

Arjunavarman was greatly troubled by an invasion from the south. The Yādava prince, who raided Malwa during the reign of subhatavarman, proved his high military valour by slaying three kings of Kalinga and capturing the Andhra country, where he released a certain Gaṇapati from captivity.⁴ His successors, Singhana (1209-1241 A. D.) was no less powerful.⁵ He defeated the Moslems, overthrew the Hoysala Vira-Ballāla II, and humbled the power of the king of Andhra, Kakkalla, lord of Bhambhāgiri, and the Śilāhara Bhoja of Kolhapur. In the course of his northern march, he attacked Lāṭa and Mālava. Arjunavarman and his feudatory, Sindhurāja of Lāṭa,⁶ did their utmost to check his progress, but failed miserably. Sindhurāja seems to have lost his life in the encounter. The Bahal inscription,⁷ of Singhana, dated 1222 A. D., and the Paithan plates⁸ of his remote successor, Rāmacandra, record his victory over one Arjuna, who was none other than king Arjunavarman of Malwa. The Hammīra-madamardana relates that Sindhurāja was

³ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 154.

⁴ I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 314.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Vide post, p. 212.

⁷ E. I., Vol. III, p. 113.

⁸ I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 316, line 27.

killed by Singhana.¹ But this excursion of the Yādava army was entirely of a predatory nature and could not produce any permanent effect.

On the whole, the reign of Arjunavarman was one of peace and order. The Pārijātamañjarī sets before us the high state of civilisation that gloried Malwa during this period. The people lived their lives in joy and happiness, and their social activities were marked by refined taste. Arjunavarman, like his predecessor Bhoja, was not only a patron of learning, encouraging in others the cultivation of literature, but himself a great poet.² Madana was his court poet and Āśadhara, the great Jaina author, lived in his kingdom, in the city of Nalakacchapura (modern Nalcha). He closed his reign shortly before 1218 A. D. No son seems to have been born to him, and the succession devolved upon Devapāla, son of the Mahākumāra Hariścandra.³

DEVAPĀLA.

In his early years, Devapāla seems to have ruled in Khandesh as a successor to his father, Hariścandra. It is highly probable that he became the ruler of Hoshangabad, Nimar, and Bhopal after the death of his brother, Udayavarman. It was by sheer chance that he obtained the throne of Malwa. It is probably on this account that he claims to have obtained his royalty as a boon through worshipping the goddess Limbārī.⁴ He assumed the title of Sāhasamalla.⁵

1 Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. X, p. 17.

2 Vide post, Chapt. VIII.

3 Vide ante, Chapt. VI, p. 184.

4 I. A., Vol. XX, p. 311.

5 Jina-yajña kalpa, by Āśadhara,

Four inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

(i) A stone¹ found in the ruins of a temple in the village of Harsauda, 10½ miles from the town of Ocharwa, in the district of Hoshangabad, in the Central Provinces, contains the earliest dated inscription of his reign. It was issued by Keśava, the younger brother of the merchant Dhala, a son of Bilhana, who was a son of Dosi, an inhabitant of Umdapura, when the Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājādhirāja Devapāladeva was ruling at Dhārā. The object of the inscription is to record that in Sam. 1275=1218 A. D., Keśava built a temple of Śambhu, together with a tank, on the north-eastern side of Harṣapura, close to which he also set up idols of Hanumat, Kṣetrapāla, Gaṇeśa, Kṛṣṇa, Nakulīśa, Ambikā, and others. This Harṣapura is evidently the modern Harsauda, where the inscription was found.

(ii) Three plates² were found near the temple of Siddheśvara at Mandhata, an island in the Narmada, in the Nimar District of the Central Provinces. They record that the king Devapāla, granted the village of Satājūṇā, situated in the Mahuāḍa pratijāgarāṇaka, to a number of Brahmans, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in Sam. 1282=1225 A. D. The village was split up into a number of shares and then distributed among the donees. The deed was issued from the king's residence at Mahiṣmatī. All persons concerned were asked to pay the customary shares of their produce and money rent to the aforesaid Brahmans. It was composed by the royal preceptor Madana, with the approval of the learned Bilhana, the minister of peace and war.

Mahiṣmatī is to be identified with the modern Maheshwar, a town in the Indore State, Central India

¹ I. A., Vol. XX, p. 310.

² E. I., Vol. IX, p. 103.

Agency, on the north bank of the Narmada. Satajuna is the village Satajuna, about 13 miles southwest of Mandhata. Professor Kielhorn suggests the identification of Mahauda with the village Mahod, about 25 miles south of Satajuna.¹ (iii) The remaining two records² of the king's reign were discovered inside the entrance of the great temple of Udayapur in Bhilsa. One is dated Sam. 1286, Kārttika sudi, which corresponds to 1229 A. D., and the other is Sam. 128(9?), the last numeral being indistinct. Professor Kielhorn suggests with great doubt that it is "9". If he is right, the date corresponds to 1232 A. D. The second inscription was issued when Mahārājādhirāja Devapāla, "the ornament of kings", was residing in Udayapur.

All these inscriptions of Devapāla, together with those of Arjunavarman, go to prove that, in the early part of the thirteenth century A. D., the Paramāra kingdom extended at least as far as Udayapur on the east, Hoshangabad and Nimar Districts on the south, and the Broach District on the west. The later inscriptions³ of the dynasty will show that it retained its boundary up to Jhalawar State on the north, and up to a part of the Sagor District on the east. But Vāgaḍa was lost to it, never to return. It had become a part of the Guhila kingdom of Mewar since the middle of the twelfth century A. D. From all this it may be surmised that the later Paramāra rulers, although they could not follow in the footsteps of their predecessors in the execution of imperial schemes, yet succeeded, with few exceptions, in regaining nearly the whole of their ancestral dominions.

1 E. I., Vol IX, p. 106.

2 I. A., Vol. XX, p. 83.

3 Vide post, p. 201.

§12 HISTORY OF THE PARAMĀRA DYNASTY

In the reign of Devapāla, Bilhaṇa, who had, for a time, retired from the administrative department of the government, resumed his office as minister of peace and war.

Since the liberation of Malwa from the domination of the Cauḷukyas, the military power of the Paramāra government had been entirely occupied with the destruction of Gujarat. Subhaṭavarman and Arjuna-varman made successful raids over it, but, before ever they could establish their authority there, invasions from the Deccan forced them to withdraw their forces from the west and to array them on their southern border for the defence of their own realm. It has been noticed already that the Cāhamāna Sindhurāja of Lāṭa was killed in the battle with Yādava Siṅghaṇa. His son was Saṃgrāma-siṃha, also known as Śaṅkha. The Hammīra-mada-mardana describes him as the son of Sindhurāja and the nephew of Siṃha, king of Lāṭa-deśa.¹ He is further described, in the same work, as the feudatory of the Mālava king, Devapāla.² Merutuṅga³ calls him a chieftain of Broach⁴ (Mahāśādhaniḥ). The Vasantavilāsa mentions him as a king of Lāṭa.⁵

1 Sindhurāja-tanu' janmano Lāṭa-deśādhipa-Siṃha-bhrātrvya
(Aṅka I, p. 5).

2 Śrī-mahārāja-Devapāladevaḥ Saṃgrāmasiṃha-maṇḍaleś-varam samādiśati | (Aṅka II, p. 17). Devapāla is described below as the king of Mālava (Mālavīya-rāja). Ibid., p. 18.

3 Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 162.

4 Albértni (1030 A. D.) says that Bihrój (Broach) was one of the capitals of Lardēsh (Lāṭa). (Sachau, Vol. I, p. 205.)

5 Stambha-tīrtha-nidhanena dhanāya Śaṅkha ityabhidhaya
samaye' smin |

Lāṭa-deśa-nṛpati Bhṛgukacchād uccacāla calad-aśva

-bala-śrīḥ ||

(Vasantavilāsa, Sarga. V, v. 16.)

ŚĀṆKHA.

This Śāṅkha was the most prominent figure in Lāṭa during this period. He was ruler *de facto*, if not *de jure*, and his foot is said to have been decorated with a golden chain with the images of twelve feudatory chiefs. His skill in warfare was marvellous. He was engaged in fighting with both his northern and southern neighbours, viz. the Yādavas of Devagiri and the Cauḷukyās of Gujarat. Some time previously, Vīradhavalā, the son of Lavaṇaprasāda, had seized Cambay, which was in the territory of Lāṭa, and had annexed it to the Cauḷukya empire.¹ Vastupāla was appointed to govern this new possession, and, although Śāṅkha greatly resented this action, he was unable to take any active steps about it, as he was hard pressed at the time by the Yādava Siṅghapa from the south. Moreover, it is probable that he could not rely on the support of his overlord, the king of Malwa, since, on a former occasion, when his uncle Siṃha was attacked by Siṅghapa, the Mālava king had become alarmed, and had withdrawn his support, leaving him in the lurch.²

Shortly after Śāṅkha's accession, the Yādavas made a heavy attack upon Lāṭa, and advanced as far as the Narmada, but they were severely defeated and repulsed by his powerful arms.³ About this time, he was attacked by the sons of Arjorāja from the north, but he was saved from catastrophe by the timely intervention of the Mālava king. Not long after, another attempt was made by the Yādavas to crush the power of the Lāṭa dynasty. This time, Śāṅkha was taken prisoner by the leader of the Yādava army, and was produced

1 Vasantavilāsa, Sarga V, Introduction, p. VI.

2 Hammīra-mada-mardana, Aṅka I, p. 4.

3 Vasantavilāsa, Sarga V, vs. 24-43.

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before Siṅghana. Subsequently, he obtained his release by asserting his influence over the Yādava king.¹ After that, a treaty seems to have been concluded between Siṅghana, on the one hand, and Devapāla and his feudatory, Śaṅkha, on the other. This gave Śaṅkha a respite, and an opportunity to make an attempt at the reconquest of his ancestral territory of Cambay.

WAR AGAINST GUJARAT.

Events turned in favour of Śaṅkha when, about that time, serious trouble broke out on the northern border of the Gujarat empire, owing to the invasion of the Marwar kings. Viradhavala hurried his army to the seat of the disorder, leaving Vastupāla to keep watch on the south. At this opportune moment Śaṅkha sent an embassy to Vastupāla, demanding the surrender of Cambay, which had belonged to his predecessors. By way of threat he reminded him that no one would be able to withstand his arms, which had once repulsed even the powerful Siṅghana, at the same time promising him that, if he would acknowledge his overlordship, he would raise him from his insignificant position as governor of a port to the high status of the chief of a province. But neither threat nor bribe tempted the Caulukya minister. He bravely refused to submit to the demand, and told the embassy to inform its master that, while he was glad to learn that Śaṅkha had vanquished the Yādava king, he, at the same time, regretted that the latter should have had to put on fetters in the prison of his former victim. He begged leave to mention further that the claim of his (Vastupāla's) master on Cambay far exceeded Śaṅkha's hereditary right thereto, since Viradhavala had acquired it by force of arms.

¹ Vasantavilāsa, *ibid.*

In face of this reply, Śaṅkha at once declared war and advanced to the side of the tank called Vata, supported by an ally named Saida, a merchant in Cambay. Bhuvanapāla, of the Gula family, fought on the side of Vastupāla. He lost his life on the battle-field at the hand of Śaṅkha himself. When nine great warriors of Vastupāla's army fell fighting in the battle, he himself came forward and killed many soldiers, mistaking each of them for Śaṅkha. At last he came upon the real Śaṅkha, and darted his spear against him, only to see it shattered to pieces by the latter. Śaṅkha, however, was forced ultimately to flee away, having failed to resist this fresh attack.¹

After this discomfiture, Devapāla and Śaṅkha made a coalition with the Yādava Singhana for the invasion of Gujarat. The departure of Vīradhavalā to the north in order to repel a Moslem attack there greatly facilitated their task. The Hammīra-mada-mardana² is a drama in five acts, written by Jayasimha Sūri, the pupil of Vīra Sūri, between Sam. 1276 and 1278 (1219-1221 A. D.), and was acted on the occasion of the festival of the procession of the god Bhimeśvara, at Cambay. It deals with a particular occasion upon which Vīradhavalā, had to meet a very critical situation. The Yādava Singhana having been joined by Samgrāmasimha (Śaṅkha), was marching from the south to attack his kingdom; the

1 Hammīra-mada-mardana, Aṅka I; Vasantavilāsa, Sarga V; Someśvara's Kīrtikaumudī, Sarga V; Merutuṅga's Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, p. 162; Sukṛtakīrtikālolīnī, vs. 138-140. Jinaharṣa's Vastupāla-Carita.

2 Dhārā-patir Dakṣiṇa

yugapa (t sa) metau |

dhīras taylor eva samāna-tantram

niḥ—dhaś cakāra || (E. I., Vol. I, p. 28, v. 45.)

Mālava king, Devapāla, was advancing from the east, and the Turuṣkas were already at the northern gate of his realm. In that predicament, Viradhavala, as on the previous occasion, left the entire guardianship of the east and south in the charge of Vastupāla, and himself started with a contingent to fight with the Turuṣka general, Hammīra-vīra-Mīlacchikāra. Vastupāla engaged as his assistant Tejahpāla's son, Lāvanyasiṃha, who sent spies in the persons of two brothers, Nipunaka and Suvega to effect a split in the enemy's camp. Suvega managed to insinuate himself into the favour of the Yādava king, and Nipunaka succeeded in obtaining the post of horse-keeper to the Mālava king, Devapāla. Nipunaka persuaded Siṅghana that it would be advisable for him to cease all hostilities until Viradhavala should have spent his strength in fighting against the Turuṣka. The Yādava king considered this advice highly judicious, and went on carousing and merrymaking on the banks of the Tapti, instead of preparing for battle. The other spy, Suvega, had meanwhile obtained a horse with the name of 'Devapāla', to be presented to Saṃgrāmasiṃha, and forged a letter under the signature of the Mālava king, in which Saṃgrāmasiṃha was urged to revenge his father's death by destroying the Yādava army in its entirety, when devapāla would fall upon them at the time of their entrance into Gujarat. In appearance this letter was merely a blank sheet of paper, but on exposure to the sun its contents were easily visible. Bearing it on his person, Suvega assumed the dress of a mendicant and allowed himself to be caught by the Yādava army, who brought him at once before their king. Siṅghana fell into the trap, and ordered Nipunaka to verify the truth of the story about the horse. The spy came out, and, meeting Saṃgrāmasiṃha, related to him everything about the interception of the letter and the consequent

displeasure of the king. He then returned to Singhana and assured him that the horse really bore the name of the king of Mālava. In the meantime, Samgrāmasimha fled away in fear. Singhana at once marched against Mālava, where he was opposed by its powerful forces. Nipupaka and Suvega, having thus thoroughly succeeded in their task, hurried to Gujarat, and reported everything to Vastupāla, who was greatly delighted at the news. But not long afterwards, he heard that Samgrāmasimha was advancing with his forces to attack Cambay, and had already crossed the Mahi river. An army was at once dispatched for the defence of the port.

Here the author abruptly leaves the discourse to narrate the circumstances of the struggle that was proceeding on the northern frontier. The Moslems were ultimately repulsed, and Viradhavala went home victorious. Presumably, a treaty was then concluded with Samgrāmasimha, for Viradhavala expressed his joy on the battlefield of Marwar, at the fact that the son of Sindhurāja had become his friend.

The author of the Hammira-mada-mardana has based his story mainly on historical facts, though it is romantic in character. The actual existence of most of the persons he describes has been proved by outside evidence. The Prabandhacaturvīṃśati tells us that Viradhavala, with the help of Dhārāvārṣa, defeated Suratrāpa Maujadin, i. e. Mu'iz-ud-dīn Bahrām Shāh Iyāl-Timish. A fragmentary inscription from Dabhoi records that Viradhavala routed a combined attack of the lord of Dhārā and the king of the Deccan. Singhana subsequently entered into a treaty of alliance with the Cauḷukyas.¹

¹ Report on the Search for the Sanskrit MSS. 1882-83, pp. 39ff, by R. G. Bhandarkar.

INVASION OF MALWA BY THE MOSLEMS.

While Devapāla was thus engaged in the destruction of the Gujarat empire, the Moslems raised their war-cry on the north-eastern frontier of the Paramāra kingdom. It has been seen that, in 1192-1193 A. D., the Muhammadans conquered the greater portion of Northern India, together with Ajmer. Since that time, they had been ruling the conquered provinces from their capital at Delhi. Qutb-ud-dīn, the first Muhammadan ruler of Delhi, was succeeded by Ārām Shāh who again was followed by Iyal-Timish. In 1226 A. D., Iyal-Timish pushed his arms further south and conquered the fort of Mando (Mandasor), which was on the northern border of the Paramāra kingdom. On that occasion he seems to have been defeated by Viradhavala, while trying to ravage Gujarat. About the same time, Devapāla made a combined attack on Gujarat with the Yādavas. Racial jealousies blinded him to the danger that was awaiting him, and for this want of foresight he had to pay the penalty. Malwa fell a prey to the incursions of the Moslems. In 1233-4, Iyal-Timish reduced Gwalior to subjection, and turned his arms against Malwa. Devapāla was not prepared for this onslaught and the Sultān easily captured the fort of Bhilsa and made a triumphant march into the city of Ujjain. Firishta tells us¹ that, on this occasion, the Moslem chief "destroyed a magnificent temple, dedicated to Mahākāl, formed upon the same plan as that of Somnat. This temple is said to have occupied three hundred years in building, and was surrounded by a wall one hundred

¹ Elliot, History of India, Vol. II, p. 328; Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, p. 211. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 55.

Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsirī, Vol. I, p. 622-Raverty.

cubits in height. The image of Bikramajit, who had formerly been prince of this country, and so renowned, that the Hindoos have taken an era from his death, also the image of Mahākāl, both of stone, with many other figures of brass, were found in the temple. These images the king caused to be conveyed to Delhi, and broken at the door of the great mosque."

The Paramāra government thus received another rude shock, which no doubt, accelerated its decline and downfall.

The storm of the Moslem invasion passed away as quickly as it came, leaving desolation in its wake. The upheaval was tremendous, but Devapāla succeeded in restoring peace and order. Viradhavala of Dholka seems to have availed himself of the embarrassments of the Paramāra government to wrest Broach from its feudatory, Śaṅkha. The colophon of a palmleaf manuscript relates that Lāvanyasimha, the son of Viradhavala's minister Tejahpāla, was the governor of Broach in Sam. 1296=1239 A. D.

During the reign of Devapāla, in Sam. 12885=1228 A. D., Āśādhara wrote his book Jina-Yajña-kalpa, and in Sam. 1292=1235 A. D. composed his Triṣaṣṭi-smṛti. He ascended the throne somewhere between 1215 and 1218 A. D., and ended his reign before 1243 A. D., which is the earliest known date of his son and successor Jaitugideva.

JAITUGIDEVA.

This monarch assumed the name of Bāla-Narāyaṇa¹. No inscription of his reign has been discovered.

From this period the history of the Paramāra dynasty is one long series of tales of rapid deterioration

¹ E. L., Vol. IX, p. 121, v. 22.

and collapse. Invasion after invasion from various quarters had shattered its nervous system until it finally broke down.

WAR WITH THE YĀDAVAS.

We have seen that Śiṅghaṇa, probably being duped by the Caulukyās, attacked Devapāla's army. This again embittered the relations between the Yādavas and the Paramāras. Śiṅghaṇa was succeeded by his grandson, Kṛṣṇa, early in 1247 A. D.¹ Kṛṣṇa carried on the military policy of his predecessors with fresh vigour against the Paramāras, and advanced with an army upon Malwa, which was then apparently ruled by Jaitugideva. His success over the Malwa army was as glorious as any achieved by his predecessors, although he did not acquire any territory. An inscription² of his reign, dated Śaka 1174=1252 A. D., states that "he was a 'trinetra' to Madana in the form of the king of Mālava," which means that he destroyed the power of the Mālava king as the God Śiva reduced Madana, the God of Love, to ashes by the fiery glance of his third eye, when the latter tried to excite his passion for the Goddess Pārvatī. Another inscription³ of the same monarch, issued two years earlier, in Śaka 1172=1250 A. D., records also the subjugation of the king of Malwa by his valorous armies.

This was not the only catastrophe which the Paramāras had to face during this period. Iyal-Timish's expedition against Malwa, of only a few years back, had sounded for them a deep note of warning. Since then, many more countries in Northern India had been subjugated by the Moslems. But Jaitugideva, like his

¹ J. Bo. Br., Vol. XII, p. 4, No. 5.

² Ibid., p. 34.

³ E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 23.

father Devapāla, ignored all those episodes, and made no provision for the defence of his realm against the coming danger. He was not, of course, wholly responsible for this default, as he had to array all his forces against the Yādavas for the defence of his southern frontier. The depredations made by the king Kṛṣṇa, no doubt pressed heavily upon his military resources. This quickly attracted the attention of the Moslem ruler of Delhi, who was evidently on the look-out for such an opportunity. Iyal-Timish was succeeded by Raziyyah and Nāṣir-ud-dīn. In 1250 A. D., Nāṣir-ud-dīn sent his general, Balban, to subjugate the southern Hindu kingdom. He first fell upon Narwar and defeated its ruler, and then directed his march towards Malwa. The Paramāra territory probably again fell a prey to the inroads of the Moslems. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*¹ tells us that "the sublime standard (of Balban) moved towards Gwāliyūr, Chandīr, Nurwul (Nurwur) and Mālwah, and on this expedition, they reached near unto Mālwah." *Firishta* records² that Nāṣir-ud-dīn marched to Chundery and Malwa and subdued them. He, after having appointed an officer to govern them, returned to Delhi. It is extremely doubtful whether the Moslems were, on that occasion, able to establish a permanent authority over any part of Malwa, but it is quite certain that this raid played a large part in lessening still further the declining strength of the Paramāras.

WAR WITH THE VĀGHELĀS OF DHOLKA.

About this time, a fresh trouble from the west embarrassed the Mālava government. Viśaladeva, son

¹ Raverty, Vol. I, p. 690-91.

² Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 239. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 68.

of Viradhavala, ascended the throne of Gujarat in 1243 A. D. He heartily welcomed the situation created in Malwa by the successive foreign invasions. He probably recalled those dark days when Devapāla, taking advantage of his father's absence, made an alliance with the Yādavas and invaded Gujarat. Now the time had come for him to be able to pay off these old scores against the Paramāras. A large Gujarat army, headed by Vīśaladeva, marched to the borders of Malwa. The Paramāra government, with its petty resources, could not stem the tide of their progress, and Vīśala made a triumphant march through the country and sacked its capital, Dhārā. The Dabhoi inscription¹ of his reign, dated 1253 A. D., states that he won renown by defeating the king of Mālava and the ruler of the Deccan. Another inscription² of his reign, dated 1260 A. D., records that "he was volcanic fire to dry up the ocean of the army of Simhaṇa, a destroyer of the pride of the king of Mālava and an uprooter of the government of Medapāṭa." A third record,³ issued by the poet Nānāka, and dated 1271 A. D., declares that "the heavens on high became terrifically dark by the rings of smoke rising from Mālava set ablazing at the time of his (Vīśala's) attack." It further tells us that Gaṇapati Vyāsa earned high reputation by composing an essay on Vīśalādeva's destruction of Dhārā.⁴ An undated inscription⁵ of the same court poet tells us that the king "adorned the land his beloved, with his glory, as with strings of pearls, abandoned by, and gained in battle from the king of Mālava."

¹ E. I., Vol. I, p. 28, v. 58.

² I. A., Vol. VI, p. 212.

³ Ibid. Vol. XI, p. 107, v. 4.

⁴ Śrī-Vīśala-kṣemāpater Dhārā-dhvaṃśa-mahā prabandha. (I. A., Vol. XI, p. 107, v. 18)

⁵ Ibid., p. 104, v. 6.

All this evidence proves beyond doubt Visala's sweeping success in that enterprise. His invasion was of a plundering nature, and hence no territorial acquisition was made. After this, the Paramāra government was left in a most shattered condition. Having suffered so many disasters, it now cast only a flickering ray of its power, and began to deteriorate until it finally collapsed.

Jaitugi was amiable and loving to his subjects, and beloved for his good qualities.¹ In Sam. 1300=1243 A. D., when he was ruling his kingdom, Āśadhara wrote a commentary on Dharmāmṛta, called Bhavyakumudacandra, in a Jaina temple in Nalakacchapura. He ended his reign some time before 1256 A. D., and was followed by his younger brother, Jayavarman II.

JAYAVARMAN II.

Three inscriptions of Jayavarman II's reign have been discovered. The earliest² is found inside the fort of Rahatgarh, a town twenty-five miles west of Sagor, the headquarters of the district of the same name, in the Gwalior State. It purports to say that it was issued by the feudatory or the governor, Ukalevandana, of Uparahāḍa maṇḍala (province) in Sam. 1312, Bhādrapada 7 (28th August, 1256 A. D.), when the Mahārājādhirāja Jaya (varma) deva was ruling at Dhārā. The province of Uparahāḍa was certainly the territory in and around Rahatgarh, though to-day no place-name in that neighbourhood corresponds to it.

The second inscription,³ on a stone broken into four pieces, now lying in the town-hall at Indore, was

¹ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 121.

² I. A., Vol. XX, p. 84; A. S. I., Vol. X, p. 31.

³ Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1913, p. 56—unpublished.

found at Moḍi, about ten miles west of Bhanpura, in the Indore State. It was issued during the reign of Jayavarman, in Sam. 1314=1257 A. D., and refers to a district called Maḍi, which is evidently identical with the place where the record was discovered.

(iii) The third inscription¹ was found in the village of Godurpura, on the south bank of the Narmada, in the Nimar District, Central Provinces. It contains two plates, and records that Jayavarman, from his fort of Maṇḍapa, granted the village Vaḍauḍa, in the Mahuaḍa pathaka, to three Brahmans, viz., Mādhava, Janārdana, and Dhāmadevaśarman. In pursuance of the king's directions, in Sam. 1317=1260 A. D., his officer Gaṅgadeva, having bathed at Amareśvara Kṣetra, worshipped Amareśvaradeva, and distributed the above village to the donees, in various shares. The record was composed by Harṣadeva, son of the learned Gaviśa, with the concurrence of the Sāndhivigrahika (Minister of Peace and War), the learned Māladhara. It was corrected by the grammarian Āmadeva, and engraved by the architect Kānhaḍa. The 'Dūtaka' was the Mahā-pradhāna—Rājā Śrī-Ajayadeva.

Of the localities mentioned, Maṇḍapa is the modern town of Mandu, in Dhar State; Mahuaḍa, which is here called a pathaka, is described in Devapāla's grant as a pratijāgaraṇaka,² the latter being probably a subdivision of the former. Professor Kielhorn suggests³ that Vaḍauḍa is to be identified with the village Burud, three miles north-east of Satajana.⁴

¹ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 120.

² Ibid., p. 103, line 17.

³ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 120.

⁴ Professor Kielhorn makes mention of an inscription, dated Sam. 1311=1255 A. D., found at Udayapur, in which he

The evidence of the above three records, shows that, even in that period of degeneration, the Malwa government held sway over a territory which extended at least as far as Bhanpura, in the Indore State, on the north, the Sagor District on the east, and the Nimar District on the south.

WAR WITH THE CĀHAMĀNAS OF RANTHAMBHOR.

During this time, the Paramāras found another strong enemy in the Cāhamāna kings of Ranastambhapura, the modern Ranthambhor, in the Jaipur State, Rajputana. A short account has already been given of the defeat and death of Pṛthvirāja, in 1192 A. D., by Shihāb-ud-dīn Muḥammad of Ghor. Since then, the Cāhamāna rule in Delhi and Ajmer had become totally extinct. Govinda Rāja, the grandson of Pṛthvirāja, established a new government in Ranthambhor, and began to rule as an independent monarch. He was succeeded by Bālhaṇadeva.¹ The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* tells us that, ² in 1248 A. D., Ulugh Khan, a general of the Sultān Nāṣir-ud-dīn, advanced to conquer the mountain of Mewat and the country of Bāhar-Deo, who was the greatest of the Rājas of Hindustan. Again, in 1253 A. D., the Moslem general led an expedition towards Ranthambhor, Hindi, and Chitor. Bāhar-Deo, the Ray of Ranthambhor, collected an army to oppose him but ultimately fled away. I am inclined to identify Bāhar-Deo with Bālhaṇadeva. If I am right in this,

reads, with but little doubt, the name Jayasīṃha (E. I., Vol. IX, p. 118) As the facsimile is not available, nothing can be inferred from this.

¹ E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 48.

² Elliot, Hist. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 367, 370; Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 828.

we get from the above Moslem record some idea about the period of Bālhaṇa's reign. He had two sons, Prahlāda and Vāgbhaṭa, of whom the former succeeded to the throne, and the latter became the chief minister of the government. Prahlāda, however, did not long survive his father, and died of a wound received from a lion during a hunting excursion. His eldest son, Viranārāyaṇa, followed him to the throne. The Hammīra-mahākāvya tells us that he was haughty and impudent, and quarrelled with his uncle, Vāgbhaṭa. Vāgbhaṭa left Ranthambhor and went to Malwa, where he lived for some time. Viranārāyaṇa was soon lured to Delhi by Jalāl-ud-dīn, who made false overtures of friendship to him. As soon as he reached the Moslem capital, he was assassinated, apparently by the Sultān's orders. Ranthambhor was then conquered by the Sultān, who sent instructions to the Malwa king to put Vāgbhaṭa to death.¹ The Malwa king agreed to carry out this order but Vāgbhaṭa, becoming aware of the plot against his life, at once slew him, and occupied the throne of Malwa. With the new resources thus obtained Vāgbhaṭa proceeded to Ranthambhor, and conquered it by the complete overthrow of the Moslems.² We have no evidence to verify this report. Vāgbhaṭa's son Jaitra-siṃha was a contemporary of Jayasimha II (1269 A. D.), who was apparently a successor of the Paramāra Jayavarman II.³ Hence if the above report proves to be true, the Malwa king, who was killed and overthrown by him, was in all probability, Jayavarman II. This must have happened shortly after 1260 A. D.

¹ I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 62.

² Hammīra-Mahākāvya, by Nayacandra, I. A., Vol. VIII, pp. 62 ff.

³ E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 47.

JAYASIMHA II.

After the reign of Jayavarman II, we have no systematic chronology of the later Paramāra kings. We shall arrange them according to their known dates, though their relation with each other is not yet known. Jayavarman II seems to have been succeeded by Jayasimha II. An inscription¹ of his reign, dated Sam. 1326, Vaiśākha 7=10th April, 1269 A. D., has been discovered. He seems to have been a powerful chief. Vāgbhata's successor, Jaitrasimha, waged war against the Paramāras. He² defeated the brave Mālava army at a place called Jhampāithāghatta and sent hundreds of them as prisoners to Ranthambhor. He is said to have shone forth like a sun, in the glare of which Jayasimha burnt in Maṇḍapa (Mandu). But in spite of all these achievements, Jaitrasimha had ultimately to withdraw from his enemy's country. The subsequent history of his successors shows that they had no control over Malwa.

ARJUNAVARMAN II.

Jayasimha's death was followed by terrible internal disturbances in his kingdom. The situation is well described by a contemporary Muhammadan historian

1 Kielhorn's Northern List, No. 232.

2 Tatobhyudayam āśādyā Jaitrasimha-ravir nṇavaḥ |
api Maṇḍapa-madhyastham Jayasimham atitapat || 7 |
Kūrmama-kṣitīśa-kamaṭhī-kāṭhinoru-kamṭha-pīthī-vilumṭa-
(ṭh)ana-kāṭhara-kūṭhāra-dhāraḥ |
yaḥ Karkkarālagiri-pālaka-pāla-pāli-khelat-karāla-karavāla
karo vireje || 8 |

Yena Jhampāithāghaṭṭe (Mā)laveśa-bhaṭṭaḥ śatam |

Va(ba)ddhā Raṇastambhapure kṣiptā nitāśca dāsatam || 9
(Hammīra's inscription, E. I., Vol. XIX, pp. 49-50.)

named Wassāf, who wrote his *Tazjiyatul Amsār* in 1300 A. D.¹ He records² that—"It may be about thirty years previous to my laying the foundation of this book that the king of Malwa died, and dissension arose between his son and minister. After long hostilities and much slaughter, each of them acquired possession of a part of that country. In consequence of these disturbances, every year incursions are made into it from most parts of Hind, much property and wealth, and captives, and fine linen (*Kirbās*) carried off, and as yet no change (for the better) has taken place."

The Malwa king, whose death this Muhammadan historian alludes to, was, in all probability, Jayasimha II, who was ruling in 1269 A. D. His son, who involved himself in a quarrel with his minister, seems to have been Arjunavarman II. We have ample evidence to prove that, during this period, Malwa was a prey to the attacks of many chiefs of the neighbouring kingdom.

RAID OF THE YĀDAVAS ON MALWA.

Yādava Kṛṣṇa was followed on the throne by Mahādeva (1260-1270 A. D.) and Rāmacandra (1271-1309 A. D.). Rāmacandra carried on the traditional war with his northern neighbours, and made a successful raid on Malwa. The Thana plate³ of his reign, dated Śaka 1194=1272 A. D., very appropriately describes him as "a blast of the day of doom in extinguishing the lamps of the Mālavas." The Udari stone inscription⁴ of

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³ *Mālava-pradīpa-śamana-pralayānilaḥ*; E. I., Vol. XIII, pp. 202-205. (For other evidences, Mysore Inscription, pp. 20 and 46; E. C., Vol. VII, *ffl.* No. 17; Vol. XI, *jl.* 30, *Dg.* 59.)

⁴ *Ann. Rep. Arch. S. Mysore*, 1929, p. 143.

FALL OF THE PARAMĀRAS OF MALWA 229

Ramacandra, dated Śaka 1198 = A. D. 1276, states that the "King was a lion in destroying the multitude of the rutting elephants of Arjuna, the King of Mālava."

CĀHAMĀNA HAMMĪRA'S INVASION OF MALWA.

Next followed the incursions of the Cāhamānas of Ranthambhor. Jaitrasimha was succeeded by his son Hammīra, in 1283 A. D. Hammīra was well known for his chivalry and generalship. Shortly after his accession he led an expedition to Malwa, and greatly crippled its military strength. His inscription, dated 1298 A. D., honours him for his victory over Arjuna, the king of Malwa.

INVASION OF THE VĀGHELĀS.

While all the neighbouring chiefs were taking advantage of the weakness of the Paramāra government, the Vāghelās of Dholka did not let slip their opportunity. About this time, Śaraṅgadeva (1275-1295 A. D.), the son of Arjuna and the grandson of Visala, was on the throne of Gujarat. He fell upon the Paramāras with a body of soldiers, and shattered their forces. The Cintra prasasti³ of his reign, dated 1287 A. D., tells us that he reduced the power of the Yādava and the Mālava kings

1 I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 64.

2 Nirjñitya yenĀrjunamāji-mūrdhni Śrīr-Mālavasyojjagphe
hañhena # 11,

E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 50. The Hammīra-Mahākavya describes Arjuna as the Rāja of Sarasapura.

(I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 64).

3 Yudhi Yādava-Mālaveśvaravākṛta kṣipabalaḥ balena yaḥ |
Pṛthu-vigraha-dhāriṇau purā patageṃdro gaja-kacchapāv-

iva #

(E. I. Vol. I, p. 281, v. 13).

in battle, as Garuḍa formerly overcame the huge-bodied elephant and the tortoise. He appears to have been assisted in this enterprise by his governor, Visala, who is described by the Mount Abu inscription,¹ dated 1293 A. D., as a ruler of eighteen provinces, his headquarters being at Candrāvati. The Pāṭanārāyaṇa inscription,² of the Paramāra Pratāpasimha, mentions him as the conqueror of the lord of Mālava and the Turuṣkas. It seems to refer to the same campaign against Malwa as that led by Śaraṅgadeva.

BHOJA II.

HAMMĪRA'S SECOND INVASION OF MALWA.

Arjunavarman occupied the throne of Malwa until at least the year 1283 A. D., the date of the accession of Hammīra to the throne of Ranthambhor. He was succeeded by Bhoja II.³ During his reign, the hostility with the Cāhamānas of Ranthambhor reached its climax. Hammīra, shortly after his accession, set out on a career of military glory at the expense of the neighbouring Hindu princes, without paying any attention to the extensive preparations of the Moslems for the invasion of his own territory. He conquered Gaḍhamanḍala and marched upon Dhārā, where he defeated the king Bhoja II, a descendant of the famous king of that name. Thence he proceeded to Ujjain, where, bathing in the waters of the Kṣiprā, he paid his devotions to the shrine

¹ Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI, p. 311.

² Śrī-Mālavadhīpa Ti (Tu) ruṣka-balaika-jaitra-Śrī-Bhāda-devasuta-Visala-ramya-rājye. (I. A., Vol. XLV, p. 79, v. 42.) Visala is described here as the son of Bhādadeva. He was in all likelihood, the same as the governor of Śaraṅgadeva, who is mentioned in the Mount Abu inscription.

³ I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 64.

of Mahākālā. Finally he returned to Ranthambhor, after vanquishing the rulers of Mewar, Mount Abu and Vardhamānapura.

This lack of statesmanship on the part of Hammīra in throwing himself headlong into a series of wars with the chiefs of his own nationality, at a time when the Muhammadans raised their war-cry on the northern boundary of his dominions, not only hastened the ruin of the Paramāras, but also brought speedy destruction upon his own government. In 1301 A. D., the Moslems, under Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī,¹ broke through the barrier of his armies, and rushed towards his capital. The Hammīra-mahākāvya describes pathetically the manner in which the great hero met his end, when all the women of his harem, mounting on a funeral pyre, voluntarily burnt themselves to ashes. Hammīra sallied forth from his stronghold, and made a desperate attack on his enemies. All his valiant generals died one after the other fighting bravely. "Lastly fell the mighty Hammīra, pierced with a hundred shafts. Disdaining to fall, with anything like life, into the enemy's hands, he with one last effort severed his head from his body with his own hands, and so terminated his existence. Thus fell Hammīra, the last of the Cohāns!"²

MAHLAK DEO.

Next came the turn of the Paramāra government. The life and spirit infused into it by the ever-memorable Muḥija and Bhoja had long since been blighted. Only the shadow of its former glory and power remained. In the meantime, it suffered another terrible disaster at

¹ Elliot, History of India, Vol. III, p. 179.

² I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 73.

the hand of Lakṣmasiṃha, the Guhila king of Mewar. An inscription¹ of Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa, dated 1489 A. D., praises Lakṣmasiṃha for his victory over Gogaḍeva, the king of Mālava. A contemporary Muhammadan historian inscribes the name Gogaḍ as Kokā, and describes him as a commander (pardhān) of the Malwa king, Mahlak Deo.* I think Mahlak Deo succeeded Bhoja II on the throne, and that Gogaḍ was a semi-independent chief.

FINAL CONQUEST OF MALWA BY THE MOSLEMS.

Shortly after the fall of Ranthambhor, in A. H. 705 = 1305 A. D., Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī appeared, at the head of his picked troops, before the gates of Malwa. Mahlak Deo, together with his general Kokā (Gogaḍ), collected all the forces he could muster, amounting in all to thirty or forty thousand cavalry and innumerable infantry, and confronted the Moslems in a last but by no means less formidable effort to stem the progress of the invaders. But Providence had decreed that the Hindus should no more hold the sovereignty of India. Hundreds of the Malwa army were slain on the battle-field, and Kokā lost his life in the encounter. Mahlak Deo fled to the fort of Mandu, and Malwa was conquered and finally annexed to the Moslem empire, 'Ain-ul-Mulk being appointed to carry on its administration as governor. At the order of the Sultān, 'Ain-ul-Mulk advanced towards Mandu to bring that also under subjugation. A spy led him into the fort through a secret passage, whence he suddenly fell upon Mahlak Deo, and slew him, in spite of the fugitive's efforts to escape.³

1 Mālaveśa-Gogaḍeva-jaitra-Śrī-Lakṣmasiṃha, A. S. I., 1907-8, p. 214, lines 12-13.

2 Elliot, History of India, Vol. III, p. 76.

3 Ibid., cf. pp. 174-175.

JAYASIMHA III.

The Paramāra sovereignty was now extinct in Malwa, never to revive. But for some time longer the banners of its independence was kept unfurled in Bhilsa by Jayasimha III, who was probably the successor of Mahlak Dev. An inscription¹ inside the east entrance of the great temple of Udayapur, tells us that in Sam. 1366—1209 A. D. Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Jayasimha was ruling there. We know nothing further about him or of any of his successors. The province was shortly afterwards conquered and annexed to the Moslem empire.

Here we must close the long tale of a family of rulers, which emerged from comparative darkness into the political arena of Central India in a burst of splendour, and dominated a large tract of land for five hundred years with unbounded authority. It withered and died out in the fires of internecine warfare, but it left behind it a great civilisation and culture which will endure for all time. In the domain of politics its achievements were magnificent; to the altar of the Goddess of Learning its contributions were immeasurable; and in the field of architecture its activities were unparalleled. For long it served as a bulwark for the Deccan against the torrents of the Muhammadan invasions. The great Moslem conquerors, Mahmud of Ghazni, and Shihāb-ud-dīn Muhammad of Ghor, ravaged all the countries round Malwa, but, curiously enough, touched not a stone of the Paramāra empire. The riches of Ujjain and Dhārā were no less glittering than those of Ajmer, Kanauj and Anhilwar; the idol of Mahākālā was of no less repute than that of

¹ I. A., Vol. XX, p. 84.

Somanātha; yet these adventurers did not attempt any invasion of Malwa. They must have been attracted by its wealth, but the armaments of the Paramāras probably dashed to the ground all their hopes of successful plunder.

It was from one of its western neighbours that the structure of the Paramāra government received the severe blow which shook it to its foundations. It was subsequently restored, but not in its former perfection; it had lost all its pristine glory and magnificence. It did not enjoy enough respite for the complete recuperation of its strength; rather the wound first inflicted, was widened by the successive attacks of the numerous Hindu chiefs, who were its enemies, until at last the Moslems descended upon its weakened power, and finished the work of destruction. With its fall the barrier of the Deccan was broken; there was none to stem the tide of the Moslem armies, before which were swept away all the Hindu sovereignties of the south.

CHAPTER VIII.

ART AND CULTURE.

In this chapter I shall endeavour to narrate the history of social, administrative, religious, architectural, and literary conditions and events in Malwa under the Paramāra dynasty.

SOCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE.

From the time of the eighth century A. D., the Eastern and Western parts of Mālava were merged in one kingdom and were known under the generic name of Mālava. The territory, over which the main branch of the Paramāras held sway, was generally known as the Mālava-deśa.¹ The whole kingdom was divided into a number of maṇḍalas (provinces), each of which was again divided into Bhogas. The 'Viṣaya'² is also a unit of the maṇḍala, but its relation with the 'Bhoga' cannot be definitely ascertained. Each 'Bhoga' seems to have been subdivided into 'Pathakas', and each

¹ Vide ante, B. 27, Chapt. 11.

² That 'Viṣaya' was a unit of the maṇḍala is clearly borne out by the Barah copper-plate of the Pratihāra Bhoja, dated 836 A. D. (E. I., XIX, p. 15). It records the grant of a village, which lay in the Udumbara-viṣaya of the Kālañjara maṇḍala, in the Kānyakubja-bhukti. But sometimes it represented a greater unit than a maṇḍala. In the Somanātha-pattana inscription, of the reign of the Caulukya Kumārāpāla, dated 1169 A. D., Vāṇāraśī (Vārānaśī, modern Benares) is mentioned as a place in the Kānyakubja-viṣaya.

(Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. III, p. 7, v. 5.)

'Pathaka' into 'Pratijāgarāṇakas' (modern 'parganā'). Each 'Pratijāgarāṇaka' was split up into groups, each of which was composed of a certain number of villages. The village was the lowest unit of the territorial divisions. Besides these, there was a large number of cities and towns, which probably served as provincial headquarters. Our knowledge of the names of all the units of the kingdom is by no means exhaustible, being limited in fact to the following, collected from the available records.

MANDALAS.

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Avanti. | 7. Vindhya. |
| 2. Mahādvādaśaka | 8. Vyāpura. |
| 3. Nīlagiri. | 9. Upendrapura. |
| 4. Pūrṇapathaka. | 10. Selluka. ¹ |
| 5. Saṃgamakheta. | 11. Uparahāḍa. |
| 6. Sthālī. | |

BHOGAS.

1. Gardabhapāṇīya.
2. Ghāghradora (in the Sthālī maṇḍala).
3. Rājāsāyana („ „ Mahādvādaśaka maṇḍala).

VIŚAYAS.

1. Audrahāḍi in Selluka (containing 1500 villages).
2. Mohaḍavāśaka.

PATHAKA.

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Ingaṇapaṭa. | 3. Mahuaḍa. |
| 2. Bhṛṃgari-catuhṣaṣṭi. | 4. Nāgadraha. |

¹ It is mentioned as a territory containing 1500 villages.
(E. I., Vol. XIX. p. 74.)

PRATIJĀGARANAKA.

1. Amadāpadra (in the Nīlagiri maṇḍala)
2. Mahuāḍa („ „ Mahuāḍa pathaka)
3. Mandāra
4. Narmadāpura
5. Pagāra
5. Śakapura,

GROUPS OF VILLAGES.

1. Bhāillasvāmi mahādvādaśaka (12)
2. Maktulagrāma-dvīcatvāriṃśa (42)
3. Mukṭāpālī-Caturāśīti (84)
(in the Āudrahāḍi viṣaya)
4. Bhṛṅgārī-catuḥṣaṣṭi (64)
5. Vodaśirā-aṣṭacatvāriṃśa (48)
(in the Narmadāpura pratijāgaranaka)
6. Tiṇisapadra-dvādaśaka (12)
7. Nayāpadra-saptadaśaka (17)
8. Vatakheta
9. Sāvarisole (16)

VILLAGES.

1. Agāsiyaka
2. Ajāravāhalā (in the Gardabhapaṇiya bhoga)
3. Cikhillikā („ „ „ „)
4. Piśācādevatīrtha „ „ „ „)
5. Pipparikā Todāra „ „ „ „)
6. Sembalapuraka „ „ Tiṇisapadra dvādaśaka)
7. Guṇapura „ „ „ „)
8. Bhagavatpura „ „ „ „)
9. Kumbhāpāṭaka „ „ Mohadavāsa-viṣaya
10. Sīhakā „ „ „
11. Vatapadraka „ Ghāghradora-bhoga
12. Nalataḍaga „ Nayāpadra-saptadaśaka

- | | | | |
|-----|--|----|---|
| 13. | Virāṇaka | „ | Nāgadraha-pathaka |
| 14. | Māyamodaka | „ | Vatakhataka thirty-six |
| 15. | Ghaṇṭāpalli | In | Saṃgamakheṭa-maṇḍala |
| 16. | Viluhaja | „ | „ „ |
| 27. | Vaḍauḍa in Surāsaṇṭi | } | Both situated in the
Rājāsāyana-bhoga. |
| 18. | Uthavanaka in the
Suvarṇa-prāsādika | | |
| 19. | Samgavattā | In | Bhṛṃgārī-Catuṣṣaṣṭi |
| 20. | Umaratha | „ | „ „ |
| 21. | Nāha | „ | „ „ |
| 22. | Vahidāu(mṭhā) | „ | „ „ |
| 23. | Deult | „ | „ „ |
| 24. | Lakhaṇauḍā | „ | „ „ |
| 25. | Palasavāḍā | „ | Amāḍāpadra-pratijāgarānaka |
| 26. | Mamati | „ | „ „ |
| 27. | Guṇaura | „ | Vodasirā forty-eight |
| 28. | Guvāḍāghatta | „ | „ „ |
| 29. | Piḍiḍi | „ | Sakapura-pratijāgarānaka |
| 30. | Hathināvara | „ | Pagāra „ |
| 31. | Satājunā | „ | Mahudā „ |
| 32. | Kadambapadraka | „ | Mandāraka „ |
| 33. | Vaḍauḍa | „ | Mahuḍa-pathaka |
| 34. | Muktāpalli | „ | Audrahāḍi-viṣaya |
| 35. | Mahiṣabuddhikā | „ | „ „ |
| 36. | Mahuḍalā | „ | „ „ |
| 37. | Hathāvāḍa | „ | „ „ |
| 38. | Kākāḍa | „ | „ „ |
| 39. | Undapura | | |
| 40. | Bhimagrāma | | |
| 41. | Mokhalapātaka | | |
| 42. | Laghuvaimganapadra | | |
| 43. | Thikkarikā | | |
| 44. | Devalapātaka. | | |

A contemporary Muhammadan historian recounts the total number of villages which lay in the jurisdiction of

Malwa. Wassâf completed his book *Tazjiyatul Amsâr* in 1300 A. D. He claims to have collected the material for his work from the accounts of many travellers, who devoted their lives to making enquiries and research in Hindustan. He tells us that the country of Malwa, which was under the sovereignty of a Hindu dynasty, consisted of 1,893,000 towns and villages.¹

Our information regarding the names of the towns and cities that rose to importance during the period under review is very small. The following few places are worth mentioning :—

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Ujjain | 11. Rājābrahmapurī |
| 2. Dhārā | 12. Brahmapurī |
| 3. Maṇḍapa | 13. Devapālapura |
| 4. Maheśvara | 14. Nalakacchapura |
| 5. Udayapura | 15. Bhilsa (Bhailsan ³) |
| 6. Bhojapura | 16. Ghargūn (Gāgrūn?) |
| 7. Vardhamānapura | 17. Bijagar (Bijayagadh) |
| 8. Harṣapura | 18. Hindiya ⁴ |
| 9. Narmadāpura (Namāvur ²) | 19. Saṅgama ⁵ |
| 10. Candrapurī | 20. Gogasthāna |

The population of the country mainly consisted of the Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Kāyasthas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and Tailakas.⁶ The Brahmana, as usual, occupied the highest position in the community. The kings offered

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 31.

² Sachau's *Albêrûnî*, Vol. I, p. 203.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁴ Briggs, *Firishta*, Introduction, LXXVI ; Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 559.

⁵ E. I. Vol. XIX, p. 69.

⁶ *Proceedings & Transactions of the Oriental Conference*, Poona, 1919, p. 324 ; E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 310.

special privileges to them, and granted lands for their maintenance. During this period a large number of Brahman families migrated from the following places, and settled themselves in Malwa :—

Ānandapura	Āśramasthāna
Ahichhatra ¹	Mahāvanasthāna
Chīñchasthāna ²	Tripuristhāna
Sthāneśvara	Akolasthāna
Viśālagrāma	Mathurasthāna
Bādāvi, in Belluvalla of Karmāṭa ³	Diṇḍvanakasthāna
Adriyalavidāvari ⁴	Madhyadeśa
Muktāvasasthāna ⁵	Sarasvatīsthāna
Takṛisthāna	Hastināpura ⁷
Śrīngapura, in Madhyadeśa ⁶	Mutāvathū

The Brahmans were divided into various Gotras and Śakhās. The following are some of them :—

GOTRAS⁸

Capaliya	Bharadvāja	Gautama	Harita-kutsa
Gopāli	Kātyāyana	Vatsa	Mārkaṇḍeya
Vasiṣṭha	Kāśyapa	Mudgala	Kautsa
Kauśika	Parāvasu	Śāṇḍilya	Parāśara
Agastya	Bhārgava	Dhaumya	Audalya

¹ Proceedings & Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924, p. 303 ; I. A., Vol. VI, p. 52.

² E. I., Vol. XI, p. 812.

³ I. A., Vol. VI, p. 55. cf Vol. XXXI, p. 365.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 350-51.

⁵ J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 379.

⁶ Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1921, p. 54.

⁷ E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 115-116.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 155-16 ; J. A., S. B., Vol. XI, p. 221.

ŚĀKHĀS ¹

Vajimādhyaṃdina	Śaṅkhāyana
Āśvalāyana	Rāṇāyani
Mādhyaṃdina	Kaṭha
Kaṭhuma	Vājasaneyā

Sometimes they bore titles of distinction, indicating their rank and the extent of their education, such as the following ² :—

Srotriya	Paṇḍita	Caturveda
Śukla	Agnihotrin	Dviveda
Dīkṣita	Rājan	Yajñika
Triveda	Upādhyāya	
Pāṭhaka	Thakkura	
Āvasathika	Mahārāja-panḍita	

It was through the contributions of these learned and highly talented Brahmans that Malwa rose to the position of an ideal Hindu State. The Mount Abu inscription ³ of the reign of the Caulukya Bhīma II, dated 1208 A. D., presents a picture of the country in the following words :—

“Glory to Avanti, the home of rich men, which protects the world by the heroism of its lords, cleanses it by the pure and brilliant life of its Brahmans, who follow the way prescribed by the revealed texts, and which gladdens it through the fragrance arising from the dalliance of its passionate youths.”

The Paramāra kings were Kṣatriyas. They established social relations with the various ruling dynasties of India by intermarriage. Udayāditya's daughter

¹ E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 115-116.

² Ibid.

³ I. A., Vol. XI, p. 222,

was married to Guhila king. Jagaddeva gave his daughter in marriage to a Varman king of East Bengal. Arjunavarman's first queen was a daughter of a Kuntala king, and his second was a Caulukya princess. The Gaṅga king, Narasimha I (1253-1286 A. D.), married Sitādevī, the daughter of a Mālava king.¹ A Gujarat prince married a princess of the Paramāra dynasty.²

The country was very wealthy. Besides the dwelling quarters in every village, there were fields for growing crops, pasture-lands for cattle, and woods which produced fuel. There were markets in the villages and cities, which contained the houses of traders. In each of them there were traders' associations.³ The chief articles for sale were⁴ candied sugar, jaggery, Bengal madder, thread, cotton, cocoanuts, butter, sesam oil, salt, areca-nuts, clothing fabrics, jāla (bunch of buds), laṅgāḍa (bars of gold), silver or other metal, oil, cattle fodder, sugar, grain, barley, etc.

The land measurements were "nivartanas" and "phalakas".⁵ There were different standards of measures for the different articles in the market, as for instance—⁶

Bharaka—for cocoanuts, candied sugar, Jaggery, Bengal madder, thread, cotton and grains.

Ghaṭaka (pot) for butter and sesam oil.
and *palikā*' " " " " "

1 E. I., Vol. V, Appendix p. 53, No. 362.

2 Gadyakaraṇamṛta of Sakalavidyācakra-vartī. An. Rep. My. Arch. Dep., 1929.

3 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 310, v. 75.

4 Ibid., pp. 309-6.

5 Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 74.

6 Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 309-10.

7 'Palikā' is apparently an abbreviation of 'Pala'. (E. I., Vol. XI, p. 41).

<i>Mūṭaka</i> and <i>Mānaka</i> ¹	—for salt.
<i>Pūlakas</i> ²	—for jāla.
<i>Karṣa</i> and <i>Pāṇaka</i>	—for oil.
<i>Santas</i>	—for lagaḍā.
<i>Mani</i>	—for seeds of grain.
<i>Vumvaka</i>	—for the distiller's productions.

Mūṭaka, *Hāraka*, and *Vāpa*³—for barley.

The currency consisted of coins of various denominations in gold and silver. Some gold coins, apparently of the reign of Udayāditya, have been discovered in the Central Provinces. They are similar in type to those of the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva. The legend on the obverse is ‘—

1. Śrīmad-U-
2. -daya-de-
3. -va.

Mr. R. D. Banerji suggests⁵ that the king referred to must have been of the Paramāra dynasty. The other denominations of coinage, as mentioned in the contemporary records, are ‘—

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Rūpaka | 3. Damma |
| 2. Ardharūpaka | 4. Viṃśopika ¹ . |

¹ *Mānaka* might have been the same as *Māṇā*. Its equivalents are :—

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| 4 pāila = 1 pāyalī | 4 māṇā = 1 Sei |
| 5 pāyalī = 1 māṇā | 2 Sei = 1 maṇ (E. I., Vol. XI, p. 41). |
- 2 *i. e.* bundles.
 3 *i. e.* handfuls.
 4 J. A. S. B., 1920, Plate XIII, No. 2.
 5 *Ibid.*
 6 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 310; Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 226. J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 738, v. 6; Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 38.

7 One-twentieth of a rūpaka. (E. I., Vol. XI, p. 41.)

The King was the supreme head of the government. Over the administrative department was a body of ministers, at the head of which was the Prime Minister, who controlled all the officials and was himself subordinate to the king. His duty was to advise the sovereign upon matters of state, although, of course his advice had no binding effect upon the king and could be disregarded by him. This was the case when Rudrāditya, the minister of Muñja, was opposed to the policy of launching campaigns against the Čālukyas, and the king disregarded his counsels.¹

The minister in charge of the affairs of peace and war was known as 'Mahāsāndhivigrahika'.²

The provincial government was in the hands of viceroys, known as 'Maṇḍalikas' and 'Mahāmaṇḍalikas'.³ The officer in charge of a 'viṣaya' was called a 'Sāmanta', and the king's representative in the village was the 'Paṭṭalika' (Patel).

The other governmental officials were :—

Mahāsāadhanika ⁴	Caurika	Daṇḍapāsika
Mahāsādhana	Grāmataka	Prātirājyaka ⁵
Desilaka	Gokulika	Mahattama
Mahāsādhyapāla. ⁶		

Daṇḍādhiśa⁷ was the title of the General of the

¹ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 33.

² J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 31.

³ Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1921, p. 54.

⁴ E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 74.

⁵ I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 161; *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 348.

⁶ E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 74.

⁷ Wilson, "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus", Introduction, pp. xx,xxi.

⁸ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 75, v. 17.

army. The government maintained a huge force consisting of—

Infantry.

Cavalry.

Elephants

An inscription¹ of Arjunavarman's reign tells us that the king possessed three classes of combatants—which obviously points to the above three divisions. Even at the time when the Paramâra government was on the point of extinction, its armed forces amounted to thirty or forty thousand cavalry and innumerable infantry.² The Paramâras were specially noted for their elephant forces. Muñja is said to have lost one thousand four hundred and seventy-six elephants in his fight with the Çalukyās of the Deccan.³ Sindhurāja invaded Gujarat with his elephant force.⁴ After the conquest of Tripurī, Lakṣmadeva encamped on the bank of the Narmada, where his elephants alleviated the fatigue of battle by bathing in the river.⁵ Arjunavarman, mounting on an elephant, fought with the Çaulukya Jayasimha.⁶ A Hoysala inscription designates the Mâlava king as the master of elephants.⁷ Bows and arrows, and swords were the principal weapons in use. Bhoja is known to have practised archery.⁸ "Jhar-jharas" and Dâmaras" were used as war-drums.⁹ The

1 J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 26.

2 Elliot, History of India, Vol. III, p 76.

3 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 34.

4 E. I., Vol. I, p. 302.

5 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 192. v. 30.

6 Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 100.

7 E. C., Vol. VI, Kd. No. 156.

8 Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 71.

9 E. I., Vol. II, p. 192, v. 30.

soldiers were quartered in forts scattered all over the country. There were forts at Ujjain, Dhārā, Rahatgarh, Bhilsa, Mandu, and Gunapura.¹

The total income of the government was probably eighteen hundred thousand gold coins.² The royal dues were levied either in money or in kind. The revenue mainly consisted of :

1. A share of the produce of the fields ;
2. House-tax ;
3. Rent in cash ;³
4. Tolls and other dues from the market ;⁴
5. Ferry-tolls ;⁵
6. Imposts on salt.⁶

RELIGION :

Brahmanism: The Paramāra kings were devout worshippers of Śiva. The sovereigns who supported this worship by donations include Siyaka-Harṣa, Vakpati, Bhoja, Jayasimha, Arjunavarman, Devapāla, and Jayavarman II.⁷ Udayāditya built a temple to Śiva at Udayapur. The god was known under various names, such as Sambhu, Śrikanṭha, Bhavanīpati,

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 738 ; *ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 379 ; E. I., Vol. IX, p. 121 ; I. A., Vol. XX, p. 83 ; Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 211.

² *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 89 ; Mr. Tawney thinks that the number expressed here refers to the villages ; *ibid.*, fn. 5.

³ J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 382 ; J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, pp. 31, 34.

⁴ J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 740.

⁵ J. Am. O. S., VII, p. 31.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924*, p. 303 ; I. A., Vol. VI, p. 52 ; E. Vol. I., XI, p. 182 ; J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 381 ; E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 109, 119.

Amareśvara, Omkāra, Mahākāla, Kālakāleśvara, Siddhanātha, Nilakanthesvara, Manesvara, Udaleśvara, Vaidyanātha, and Gohadeśvara.¹ Carcikā was the favourite goddess of Naravarman,² and Devapāla³ has great reverence for Limbāryā. Viśveśvara Śambhu was a resident of the village of Pūrvagrāma, in Rāḍha. He migrated to Dāhala maṇḍala, and established a large number of Śaiva monasteries in the central and southern India in the 13th c. A. D. Mālava Kings are said to have been his disciples. (S. EP. 1917, p. 123).

The contemporary records tell us that the following gods and goddesses were also held in great veneration by the people :⁴

Durgā	Rādhā	Gapeśa
Lakṣmī	Vāgdevī Bhārati	Loligasvāmī
Bhaṭṭeśvari	Hanumat	Kṣetrapāla
Vidyādhari	Ambikā	Nakulīśa
The Four-Faced Mārkaṇḍeya.		

The images of all these deities were bathed and anointed with perfumes and incense. The usual ceremonial for worship consisted in sacrificing holy wood, Kuśa grass, sesamum-seed, and rice in the sacred fire. Food and flowers were also offered. The worshipper robed himself in white garments, and said prayers

¹ I. A., Vol. VI, p. 52 ; E. I., Vol. XI, p. 182 ; E. I., Vol. IV, p. 49 ; J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 30 ; I. A., Vol. XI, p. 222 ; I. A., VI, p. 56 ; E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 71. J. A. S. B. Vol. XVIII, p. 347.

² Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, 1914, p. 59.

³ I. A., Vol. XX, p. 310.

⁴ I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 161 ; Rūpam, Jan. 1924, p. 1 ; E. I., Vol. II, p. 189 ; I. A., Vol. XX, p. 310 ; J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 243 ; *ibid.*, Vol. VII. p. 740.

to the deity.¹ Sometimes he walked thrice round the sacred cow with other purificatory ceremonial.

During this period, Malwa was one of the chief centres of the Brahmanical religion. The caste-system was at the basis of the Hindu social structure. The Paramāra Kings lent their powerful support to the maintenance of its integrity. Udayāditya and Naravarman declared that their swords were ever ready to protect 'varṇa' (caste).² There were numerous Hindu monasteries which fostered the study of the religious scriptures. At the head of each monastery was a superintendent, highly distinguished for learning. In Ujjain there was a Śaiva monastery of established repute, called Nūṭana; the Candikāśrama was a similar one in the same locality, where the following personages successively assumed the office of Superior.³

Tāpasa	Yogeśvararāśi	Durvāsarāśi
Vākalavāsi	Maunirāśi	Kedārarāśi
Jyeṣṭajarāśi	Yogeśvarī	

The first mentioned, Tāpasa, belonged to the Capaliya race,⁴ and attained this high position by his sincere devotion to the God Candīśa, whilst the last Kedārarāśi, built a temple to Śiva on Mount Abu, in Sam. 1265—1208 A. D.,⁵

A great personage, named Bhāva Brhaspati, was born in the famous city of Vānārasi (Benares), situated in the viṣaya of Kānyakubja. He migrated to Malwa and resided in Dhārā, which was the abode of many

¹ J. A. S. B., VII, p. 731; I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 255.

² J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 351.

³ I. A., Vol. XI, pp. 221—22.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ I. A., Vol. XI, p. 222.

saintly people belonging to various religions. There he attained the office of Superintendent of Śaiva temples, and wrote a treatise on the doctrine of the cult of Śiva. The Paramāra kings were attracted by his qualities, and became his disciples.¹ Later on, he changed his residence and went to Gujarat, where he became the Superior of the Śaiva monasteries. The Caulukya Kumārapāla granted him a village in 1169 A. D.²

The people observed many religious ceremonies with great devotion. The most important of these seems to have been the 'Vasantotsava' or the Spring Festival. This was celebrated amidst various amusements, dramas occasionally being acted.³ The other ceremonial events of significance were :

Diwālī⁴, Sendhavadeva⁵, Candragrahaṇa (lunar eclipse), Pavitraka⁶, Mahāvaiśākha, Sūryagrahaṇa (solar eclipse).

Jainism. Side by side with the Brahmanical religion Jainism also flourished in Malwa, though not with equal vigour. In the early part of the eleventh century A. D., the great Jaina Śvetāmbara teacher, Ammadeva, flourished in Khandesh, in the southern division of the Paramāra kingdom.⁷ He preached the doctrines of Jainism, and converted many people to his faith. Numerous Jaina temples were erected in that province, in one of which was installed the image of Munisuvrata. A number of Jaina fanes, which were built in the middle of the eleventh century A. D., have been discovered at

¹ Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. III. p. 13.

² Ibid.

³ E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 101.

⁴ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 46.

⁵ I. A., Vol. VI, p. 53.

⁶ J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 242.

⁷ E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 71.

Un, in the Nimar District.¹ This proves that during that period Jainism was not limited to Khandesh, but had extended further east, in the Central Provinces, within the boundaries of the Paramāra dominion

Jainism also made considerable progress on the north of the Vindhya mountain. Its teachers always tried to assert their influence over the Paramāra kings. The Jaina teachers, Amitagati, and Dhaneśvara lived in Malwa during the reign of Muñja. Dhaneśvara was the successor of Abhayadeva, in the Śūripada. He is said to have flourished when Muñja was ruling.²

Muniratnasūri's Amamasvāmi-caritra³ says that the Śūris, Mānatunga, and Devabhadra, were two swans, whose lake Mānasa was in the minds (mānasa) of Śrī-Śātavāhana, and Bhoja. The Jaina teacher Caturmukha also known as Vṛṣabha-nandacārya had a disciple named Prabhācandra. Prabhācandra was a great favourite of Bhoja.⁴ Through the influence of the poet Dhanapāla, Bhoja is said to have become favourably inclined towards the tenets of the Jainas.⁵ But it is an evident fact that up to the last day of his life, he entertained unvarying devotion to the Brahmanical faith.

Merutunga tells⁶ how the king summoned a convention, in which the representatives of the different sects assembled. On his putting to them the inquiry as to what constituted the true path of salvation, each spoke in favour of what was enjoined in his peculiar religious

¹ Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1919, pp. 61-66.

² Peterson's 4th Report, Introduction, p. 3.

³ Peterson's Third Report, p. 91, v. 23.

⁴ E. C., Vol II (Sravanabelgola ins.), p. 35, No. 69.

⁵ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 52 ff.

⁶ Ibid., p. 63.

doctrine. Subsequently, a compromise was effected, by which all agreed to work together for the solution of the problem, going carefully into the merits of the different authorities. In six month's time they arrived at the conclusion that "By meditation one obtains salvation, regardless of the religion to which one adheres." The Goddess Sarasvatī is said to have appeared to the king in this connection, with the following message :

"Are you awake ?

You must listen to the religion of the Buddhists, but

You must practise that of the Jainas,

You must meditate on the supreme Śiva."

We have no other evidence to corroborate the above report of Merutuṅga. It may be inferred from this that Bhoja followed a policy of toleration in religious matters. The great Jaina, author Abhayadeva, was born at Dhārā. His father, Dhana, was a merchant in that city. Abhayakumāra was the name of Abhayadeva before his conversion to Jainism. He obtained the position of Ācārya at the age of sixteen, and he was made Sūri by Jineśvara, in V. S. 1088—1031 A. D. "

The king Naravarman was favourably disposed to the Jaina religion. Samudraghoṣa studied "Tarka Śāstra" (logic) in Mālava. ' Naravarman became greatly inclined to him on account of his vast learning. The Amamasvāmi-caritra ' relates that, when Samudraghoṣa had addressed the assembly of learned men, the king Naravarman of Dhārā, Siddharāja of Gujarat, and the Prince of

1 Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 63.

2 Peterson's 4th Report, Introduction, p. 4.

3 Amamasvāmi-caritra, by Muniratna-Sūri ; Peterson's Third Report, p. 95, v. 8.

4 Peterson's Third Report of Operation in Search of Sanskrit Manuscript in the Bombay Circle, p. 95, v. 9.

Godhra listened to him with great interest. Samudraghoṣa's disciple, Sūraprabha, was highly renowned in Mālava for his good qualities.¹ Naravarman also had great veneration for the Jaina teacher, Vallabha, at whose feet he is said to have bowed down his head.²

Jainism found a new life in Gujarat under the patronage of the Caulukya Kumārapāla (1145-1172 A. D.). The whole of Malwa was brought under his direct control; Jainas living there seem to have received fresh encouragement from him, and to have carried on their religious propaganda with much vigour.

About this time, Pandit Dhārāsena lived at Dhārā. His disciple was Mahāvira, a learned teacher versed in all the principles of the Jaina cult and Jaina grammar. He lived under the patronage of the Paramāra Vindhyavarman, who had great respect for the Jainas. During this period, Āśādhara migrated to Malwa with all his family, and placed himself under the guidance of Mahāvira. He found the holy Triad flourishing under the benevolent care of Vindhyavarman.³ Vindhyavarman's successor, Subhatavarman, was an enemy of the Jaina religion. During his reign, it seems to have received a severe check in Malwa and Gujarat. Āśādhara does not mention him in his writings. During his invasion of the Caulukya dominion, Subhatavarman took away nineteen gold jars from the Jaina temple at Dabhoi, and demolished a number of other Jaina temples in Gujarat.⁴

After the accession of Arjunavarman, Jainism again raised its head in Malwa. Āśādhara tells us that the

1 Peterson's Third Report, p. 95, v. 10.

2 Abhayadeva's Jayantakāvya, Grantha-praśasti.

3 Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for the Sanskrit MSS., 1883-84, p. 104.

4 Vide ante, p. 197, foot-notes 4, 5.

territory of Arjunavarman was full of Jaina Śrāvakas, and that he himself lived in the city of Nalakaccapura in order to advance the cause of the Jaina faith. He wrote a series of pamphlets dealing with various aspects of its cult. They contain the duties of the Yatis, a metaphysical treatise relating to Syādvāda, the essence of the teaching of the Arhats, etc. Āśādhara lived until the middle of the thirteenth century A. D., and was patronised by the kings Devapāla, and Jaitugi.¹

During this time the Jainas succeeded in establishing a strong organisation all over Northern India, with Gujarat as their headquarters. Vastupāla (1219-1233 A. D.), the minister of the Caulukya Viradhavala, when he went on a pilgrimage, was attended by the "Saṅghapatis" (heads of the organised associations) from Lāṭa, Gauḍa, Maru, Kaccha, Dāhala, *Avanti*, and Vaṅga.²

In the middle of the thirteenth century A. D., Devendra seems to have been the head of the Jaina monastery at Ujjain.³ He initiated Viradhavala, and Bhīmasimha, sons of the Mahebhya Jinacandra, at Ujjain, in Sam. 1302-1245 A. D. In Sam. 1323-A. D. 1266, Viradhavala received from him the office of Sūri, under the name of Vidyānanda Sūri, and Bhīmasimha the post of the teacher (Upādhyāyapada), under the name of Dharmakīrti. Devendra died in Malwa in Sam. 1327-1270 A. D., and his successor, Vidyānanda, also expired thirteen days after that date. Vidyānanda's younger brother, Dharmakīrti then became the Sūri, under the name of Dharmaghoṣa. He died in Sam. 1357-1300 A. D.

¹ Report of the Search for Sanskrit MSS., by Bhandarkar, 1883-1884, pp. 103-104.

² Vasantavilāsa, sarga X.

³ I. A., Vol. XI, p. 255.

Jainism continued to flourish in Malwa for a long time. During the whole course of the Paramāra rule, though the Jainas spent much effort in an attempt to further the cause of their faith, they never succeeded in attaining predominance over the Brahmanical religion. Merutunga tells us¹ that when the flag of the Mahākāla temple was hoisted all those of the Jainas had to be lowered.

ARCHITECTURE.

The Paramāra kings were great builders of magnificent cities, lakes, and temples. Bhoja rebuilt the city of Dhārā.² A Hoysala grant from Belur, dated 1117 A. D., records that "Dhārā was made prosperous by Bhoja."³ Since his reign, it had enjoyed the position of the chief city of Malwa, even down to the time of the Muhammadan rule.⁴

Twenty miles south of the city of Bhopal are the remains of the ancient city of Bhojpur. Tradition ascribes its foundation to Bhoja. Not far from it, to the west, is the Bhojpur lake, which was once the greatest of its kind in India. The tradition runs that Bhoja was once attacked by a malady of the severest type, which threatened his life. No physician in the kingdom was able to cure him, but at last a recluse prescribed a remedy which, if properly applied, would definitely assure his recovery. The prescription was that the king should take a long course of baths in water supplied daily by three hundred and sixty five streams, and expert engineers were therefore sent all round the

¹ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 90.

² Ibid., p. 46.

³ Mysore Inscriptions, p. 261.

⁴ J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 354.

Vindhya hill to discover a place that should fulfil these conditions. After much search, the present site of the lake was discovered, which was fed by three hundred and fifty-nine springs and the deficiency in the required number was subsequently made up by turning thither the courses of the river Kaliasot and its tributaries. Mr. W. Kincaid, who personally visited the lake, gives the following description of it :—

“It covered a valley which presents the most remarkable feature that, though it is so extensive, only two breaks occur in its wall of hills—one a little more than one hundred, the other about five hundred wide. Both of them were spanned by very remarkable dams, consisting of an earthen central band, faced on both sides, outer and inner, with immense blocks of stone, laid one on the other without mortar, but fitting so truly as to be water-tight, the other two faces sloping inwards from the base. The lesser opening was closed by a band 87 feet in height, and 300 ft. thick at the bases, or even more ; the greater, by one in places 40 ft. high, and about 100 ft. broad on the top ; and, though the first mentioned is now a complete wreck, the latter is intact and still continues to turn the river Kaliasot into the Betwa, and from its top the old bed of the stream is recognisable. The lesser but higher band was broken by Shāh Hussain, the greatest of the Mandu kings, for the purpose of utilising the bed of the lake.”

On the ancient shore of the lake lies a number of flat blocks of stones. The people of the locality still believe that they were used as a boat-house by Rājā Bhoja, who, every morning used to sail across the lake in order

to pay his obeisance at the Buddhist caves on the opposite shore. The Bhojpur lake stands to day as a testimony to the extent of the engineering skill and workmanship achieved by the people of Malwa under the magnificent rule of the Paramāras.

The king Udayāditya founded the city of Udayapur, thirty miles to the north of Bhilsa. Tradition gives a legendary story in connection with the establishment of this city.¹ It runs as follows :—

One day the king, in the course of a hunting excursion, came upon a snake surrounded by fire and writhing in agony. He rescued the reptile, which at once begged for a drink of water. This being unobtainable, the king on the earnest request of the snake, put its mouth into his own in order to afford it temporary relief from its pain. But the snake betrayed his trust and slipped down into his stomach, which so upset and distressed the king that he determined to pass the rest of his life in Benares. With this object in view he set off from his capital, halting on his way at the present site of Udayapur at that time only a tiny village. Here he was sleeping in his tent, watched over by the queen, when another snake, which was guarding a treasure in a hole under a tree near by, peeped out to see what was happening. *The first snake saw this and thereupon addressed the second from the stomach of the king, warning it that it would at once die, if anyone were to pour oil down into its hole. The treasure-guardian grew very angry, and retorted that the other snake was in no very safe position itself, since if anyone administered to the king a dose of pepper, salt, and buttermilk, that would be sufficient to put an end to its life. The queen, overhearing this*

¹ Cunningham's Archaeological Survey of India, vol. X, pp. 65-66.

conversation, proceeded immediately to profit by the information she received, and administered the suggested dose to the king, whereupon he at once brought up the snake dead, as had been fortold ; after which he proceeded to pour oil down the hole of the other snake, and having thus killed that also, took possession of the treasure. To commemorate this event, he built there a city and a temple and named them after himself.

The above story is no doubt an absolute myth, and there is evidence, in the words of a contemporary inscription,¹ that the city was built by Udayāditya. Udayapur is now once again only a small village, but there remain numerous traces of its ancient glory. Udayasamudra, the construction of which is also attributed by an early record to Udayāditya cannot now be traced.²

The king Devapāla built the city of Depalpur, now merely a village, about thirty miles to the north-west of Indore.³ He also excavated a lake, known as Depalsagar, at one end of that village, which is now a fine sheet of water covering a space of several square miles.⁴

During the happy reign of the Paramāras, a large number of superb and magnificent temples were built in Malwa. But, unfortunately, only a few specimens of them remain to us now, to be described at length in the following pages. After the fall of the Paramāras, Malwa became an important centre of the Muhammadans, and the latter, in order to obtain materials for

¹ Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1914, p. 66.

² Ibid.

³ In the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* the pargana of Dīpālpur is mentioned as a dependency of Malwa (Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. V, P. 403). The place is also mentioned in the *Bādshāh-Nāma* (ibid., Vol. VII, p. 19.)

⁴ Prog. Rep. Arch. Sur., Western Circle, 1920, p. 102.

the construction of their mosques, demolished many Hindu temples. The Muhammadan historians present us with a vivid description of how Iyal-Timish sacked and ravaged the great temple of Mahākāla at Ujjain, the object of the veneration and respect of the whole of Hindu India.

The Udayapur praśasti tells us¹ that Bhoja beautified the world by covering it with temples, dedicated to Kedāreśvara, Rāmeśvara, Somanātha, Sumd̥tra (?), Kāla, Anala and Rudra. I do not think that this, by any means, refers to the king's participation in the building of the great temple of Somanātha in Kathiawar or of Rāmeśvara in Southern India, as suggested by some historians. Besides the great temple of Rāmeśvara in Madura and the temple of Somanātha in Kathiawar, there were others dedicated to the same gods in different provinces of India. At Belur, in the Bombay Presidency, there is an old temple of Rāmeśvara.² Similarly, a temple of Somanātha is to be found in Deotalao in the Rewa State.³ Consideration of these things leads me to believe that all the temples mentioned in the Udayapur praśasti were built in Malwa, though none of them can be traced now.

THE NĪLAKAṆṬHEŚVARA TEMPLE AT UDAYAPUR.

The great Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Udayapur was built by Udayāditya in Sam 1116=1059 A. D.⁴ An

¹ Kedāra-Rāmeśvara-Somanātha-(Sum)d̥tra-kālĀnala-Rudra satkaiḥ surāśra (yai) r vyāpya ca yaḥ samantād-yathārtha-samjñāṃ jagatīm cakāra || v. 20, E. I., Vol. I, p. 236.

² Prog. Report of the Archæol. Survey, Western Circle, 1921, p. 16.

³ Ibid., p. 21.

⁴ J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 548.

inscription of the sixteenth century A. D.¹ describes it as the most beautiful temple in India. It is one of the few temples in Malwa which were spared complete demolition by the Muhammadan iconoclasts. Immediately after the conquest of Udayapur, Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq (A. D 1325) is said to have ordered this structure to be blown up. Gunpowder was heaped in and around the temple, but the priests, by secretly introducing streams of water upon them, rendered the ammunition ineffective. The Sultān took it for a miracle, and revoked his order. One of the halls, for reading Vedas, in the corner of the courtyard, was, on that occasion, converted into a mosque.

Tradition tells us that² the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, on his way back to Delhi from his Deccan wars, halted at Udayapur, and was amazed at the supreme beauty of the temple. He gave orders for its destruction, in order to build a mosque out of its materials. But Mahādeva, the deity of the temple, appeared to him in a dream and threatened him with the penalty of death should his orders be carried out. To enforce his threat, moreover, the god smote him with illness, after which the emperor, becoming alarmed, rescinded his order.

The temple is still perfect and complete,³ and is one of the best specimens of North-Indian architecture. It is built of hard, fine-grained red sandstone, and stands in the centre of a large paved courtyard. It consists of a shrine and a hall. The hall has three porches projecting from its side, access to them being given by flights of steps, the principal one being on the east. The lower

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 548.

² Cunningham's Archæological Survey of India, Vol. VII,
p. 85.

³ Plate.

parts of all the porches are provided with stone screens with small gaps in the entrance ways. Above the screens are stone benches with short pillars, supporting the roof. In the centre of the hall or sabhāmandapa there is a bull (Nandi), above which is a domed ceiling. Eight pillars and four pilasters support the roof of the hall. The pillars are massive but well-proportioned and beautiful. Each of them is square from the bottom to a certain height, and then rises octagonal to the top, where it is crowned by a circular cap. Over each of these caps there is a bracket capital, rendering the whole pillar from top to bottom symmetrical. The external roof of the hall is pyramidal, and is made of overlapping stones forming circular steps, diminishing in size as they ascend. Each of these steps is adorned with vases of different shapes, and there are twelve ribs composed of sculptured female figures.

The tower of the shrine is similar in form to that of Gondeśvara at Sinnar, in the Nasik District, and that of Ambaranātha, in the Thana District, and differs in detail and plan from the Khajuraho groups. Its external surface is divided into four sections by an equal number of decorated horizontal bands. Each of these divisions is covered with thirty-five miniature 'śikhara's or spires, divided equally into five rows. The bands are remarkable for their elegance of design and refined carving. The whole of the tower is surmounted by an 'āmalakaśilā' and a vase. In the north-western corner, immediately below the 'āmalakaśilā,' there is a human figure elaborately dressed and ornamented, holding the lower end of a flag-staff. It is probably a statue of Udayāditya, the founder of the temple. An inscription records that Udayāditya repaired this flag-staff in 1080 A. D.¹ In the

¹ I. A., Vol. XX, p. 83.

sanctum there is a big stone 'liṅga,' covered with a brass sheet, which was only recently added. The entrance-door leading to the interior of the shrine, where the deity is, is profusely decorated with sculptures. There are five jambs on each side of the door, some of which are enriched with elegant floral designs. The outermost jambs are sculptured with a series of horsemen, and thus differ in detail from the rest. On the lintel are figures of Gaṇeśa and Śiva, and on the frieze above are the figures of five goddesses in a row.

The whole structure has an extremely pleasing appearance, and every inch of it is profusely decorated with great harmony and accuracy. Mr Beglar, who has made a special study of it, remarks that "It is in excellence of execution of the floral sculptured ornamentations that this temple surpasses all others. They are executed with remarkable fineness and freedom, and are not overcrowded so as to destroy effect, but by a judicious interposition of broad plain surfaces worked with exquisite care, the ornamental value both of the flowered bands and of the plain, are mutually enhanced."

Mr. Fergusson, the well-known authority upon Eastern architecture, says that, "As every part of this temple is carved with great precision and delicacy, and as the whole is quite perfect at the present day, there are few temples of its class which give a better idea of the style than this one."

In front of the temple is a "vedi", which is said to have been built by the king for offering a sacrifice just after the completion of the fane. It is a square chamber enclosed with stone screens.

1 Beglar's Report, A. S. I., Vol. VII, p. 86.

2 Fergusson's Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, p. 147.

There were four subordinate temples, one in each corner of the courtyard, and four square 'vedis' for reading 'Vedas' in, one in the middle of each side of the courtyard. Muḥammad Tugluq, who, as we have seen, spared the main shrine, razed to the ground the north-east corner temple, and the hall, for reading Vedas, and erected in their place a mosque, which still contains two inscriptions, dated Hijra 737 and 739.

Each hall for reading Vedas is a square building, the roof of which is supported by four massive pillars. The ceiling is, as usual, built of overlapping stones. There are four balconies, one on each side of the hall, two of which are closed with massive trellises. Each of these balconies is provided with a raised slab of stone which served as a seat for the reader. ¹

The modern village of Un is situated eighteen miles to the west of Khargaon, in the Nimar District of Indore State. During the rule of the Paramāra dynasty it was an important town, and was one of the chief centres of architectural activity. A large number of temples, both Hindu and Jaina, still exist there to prove its ancient greatness. They resemble the Khajuraho group in form and plan. With the exception of Khajuraho, Un is the only place in Northern India where we find so many ancient monuments together. On the wall of one of these temples there is an inscription of the Paramāra Udayāditya (1059-1086 A. D.), which gives a definite clue to the age of these buildings.

¹ Progress Report of the Archaeol. Survey, Western Circle, 1914, pp. 64-67; Cunningham's Report, A. S. I., Vol. X, pp. 68-69; Beglar's Report, A. S. I., Vol. VII, pp. 81-88; Fergusson's Eastern Art and Architecture, Vol. II, pp. 146, 147.

THE GROUP OF TEMPLES AT UN.

(a) *The Chaubara Dera temple* is the largest in the group. It consists of a shrine and a maṇḍapa. The maṇḍapa has three porches, one on each side, of which the front one is the largest and the most elegantly carved; and on the door connecting it with the maṇḍapa there are figures of Śiva and the seven Mothers. The dome of the maṇḍapa is based on four stone lintels, which again stand on four round stone pillars. The dome and the pillars are remarkable for their minute carvings and beautiful designs. On the lower half of the pillars there are small and large standing female figures. The plan and workmanship of the whole of this maṇḍapa is reminiscent of the 'Tejapāla temple on Mount Abu.' A small passage, with a door at either end, connects the maṇḍapa with the Garbhagrha (sanctum). The lintel of the door facing the maṇḍapa is very well carved, and consists of the figures of Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sarasvatī. On the northern wall of the passage are engraved the inscription of Udayāditya and a "Sarpa-bandha" (intertwined snakes), similar to that on Bhoja's school at Dhārā. On the lintel of the door at the other end are representations of Śiva and the seven Mothers, all in dancing attitudes. The back walls of the sanctum and the pyramidal tower were broken down by a Muhammadan contractor in order to supply rubble for road-making. This has reduced the main structure of the building to a miserable condition. The interior of the tower is divided into four square cells, one over the other, diminishing in size as they ascend. Some portion of the land around the temple has been

1 Eastern Art and Architecture (Fergusson), Vol. II, p. 42 fn.

excavated and a number of Jaina images brought to light. One of them contains the date V. S. 1182 or 1192=1125 or 1135 A. D. A small fane, dedicated to Śiva, lies to the north of the main temple, the maṇḍapa and front porch of which are now in ruins.

(b) *Mahākāleśvara*. This temple stands to the north of the Chaubara-Dera No. I. The roof and walls of its maṇḍapa have now collapsed. All the porches, except the southern one, have disappeared. The remains of the bases of the three pillars, which once supported the dome of the maṇḍapa, can still be traced. The small passage leading to the sanctum has niches in the wall containing images of Brahmā and Śiva. The rear walls of the sanctum and the tower are broken down. The general plan of the building is the same as that of the Chaubara Dera and may well be compared with the great temple at Koveh, near Tikari, in the Gaya District of Bihar.

(c) *Vallabheśvara*. This temple lies to the north-west of that just described. In later times, when its śikhara' (tower) collapsed, it was replaced by a dome similar to that of the Muhammadan mosque. The maṇḍapa with its porches has entirely disappeared. The lintel of the entrance door is supported by two well-shaped massive pillars. The temple is very poor in respect of carving, and the design is simple.

(d) *Nilakanṭheśvara*. This magnificent temple of Nilakanṭheśvara Mahādeva is situated in the interior of the village. The maṇḍapa and its porches have broken down. The lintel of the front door of the passage leading to the sanctum is in a ruinous condition, and is now supported by two small pillars, which seem formerly to have belonged to the porch. The jambs and lintels of the doors at the end of the passage contain decorative designs. The figure of Śiva, dancing with seven divine Mothers, occupies spaces on one of the lintels. The

top of the Śikhara is broken and has fallen down. There is a 'linga' inside the 'Garbhagrha', around which now lie scattered the images of the mediæval Hindu deities-Viṣṇu, Sūrya, the Varāha incarnation, and Pārvatī. There are four finely decorated bands on the external surface of the Śikhara and sanctum, each containing niches, in which lie the images of Oamunḍa, Natesa and Tripurāri. The intervening spaces between the bands are covered with miniature rows of Śikharas. The whole of the temple, though now in ruins, presents a graceful view of its past greatness.

(e) *Gupteśvara* and (f) *Mahākāleśvara* 2. These Śaiva temples are situated close to Nilakantheśvara. The Gupteśvara is a subterranean building, and has now lost everything except a small chamber. The maṇḍapa of the Mahākāleśvara has totally disappeared, and the top of its śikhara has fallen down.

(g) *Chaubara Dera No. 2.*, a magnificent Jaina temple, lies between Mahākāleśvara and Chaubara Dera No. 1. Its maṇḍapa is in good condition, with a large porch in front of it. It is square in shape, and contains eight pillars in the middle, supporting the dome. It is provided with four doorways, one of which leads to the sanctum. The Śikhara has altogether disappeared, rendering the sanctum roofless. There are two Digambara Jaina images within the sanctum, one of which contains the date Sam. 13 (XX).

(h) *Goaleśvara.* The Jaina temple of Goaleśvara is still in almost perfect condition, except that its 'āmala-kasīlā' and vase have been lost. There is no porch attached to the maṇḍapa, which is a square chamber with four domes. The floor of the sanctum is about ten feet below the level of that of the maṇḍapa. Access to the maṇḍapa from the sanctum is provided by steps downwards. The main tower is surrounded by miniature

'Sikhara' like that of the Pārśvanātha temple at Khajuraha. They are not so conventional as those on the temple of Nīlakanṭheśvara at Udayapur. Inside the sanctum there stands on a pedestal a row of three 'Digambara' Jaina images. An inscription records that they were dedicated in Sam. 1263=1206 A. D. '

THE NEMAWAR TEMPLES.

(a) *The Siddhanātha temples.* Nemawar, the ancient Narmadāpura, twelve miles from Harda station on the G. I. P. Railway, has been renowned from ancient times as a great place of pilgrimage. Here lies the magnificent temple of Siddhanātha or Siddheśvara, dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries A. D. On the pillars of the maṇḍapa there are two inscriptions, dated Sam. 1253=1196 A. D. and Sam 1281=1224 A. D. respectively, recording the visit of some pilgrims. The temple is complete, and consists of the sanctum with its Śikhara and the maṇḍapa. The former is built of yellowish-grey stone, and the latter of bluish sandstone. The maṇḍapa might have been added in latter times, the date of which cannot be pushed beyond 1196 A. D., and there are some structures on its top which have been made recently. It is a square chamber, having an open porch on each of the three sides. Four fine carved pillars support each of the porches. The trabeate dome of the maṇḍapa rests on four big lintels, which are supported by two large and ten small pillars. There are niches on the pillars, containing standing figures of Śivaganas, with bulls couchant near their feet. The spaces between the small pillars are provided with finely perforated stone screens.

1. For the group of temples at Un, see Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1919, pp. 61-64, (Plates XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI),

There are also niches in the lintels, containing divine figures. The dome is the most attractive feature in the whole of the structure. In the centre of it is a pendant, around which there are carved lotus petals. Below them are sixteen stone brackets, representing female figures, intersecting a succession of circular bands. The dome presents a gorgeous spectacle like that of the Mount Abu Vimala temple. The ceiling of the 'antarāla' is gracefully decorated with inverted full-blossomed lotus flowers. The doorway leading to the 'garbhagrha' shows beautiful designs of architectural work, and its lintel bears niches, nine in number, containing images of Brahmāṇī, Maheśvarī, Kārttikeyī, Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhi, Indrāṇī, Cāmundā, and Mahādevī. In the centre is Śiva holding a Viṇā, a Damaru and a skull-cup with his four hands. A bull couchant is below at his feet.

The 'garbhagrha' is projected in three sides. There are five recessed corners between them, each of which contains five vertical rows of miniature temples, placed one over the other. All round the plinth of the 'garbhagrha' is a large number of niches, containing altogether ninety-nine semi-divine figures. The śikhara with its āmalaka-śilā is perfect, and is of the same type as that of the Nilakanṭheśvara Mahādeva at Un.¹

(b) *The Incomplete Temple of Viṣṇu.* To the north of the shrine of Siddheśvara lies the incomplete temple of Viṣṇu. It was left unfinished beyond the garbhagrha. Hence neither the śikhara nor the maṇḍapa is to be seen. On the plinth of the garbhagrha there are three bands of lotus-leaves, two bands of kīrtimukhas, a row of elephants and a row of dancing human figures. Besides these, the walls contain numerous mouldings and a large

¹ Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1921, pp. 98-106.

number of divine figures, of which those of Viṣṇu are the most numerous. The roof of the antarāla is carved in the same manner as that of the Siddheśvara. The jambs of the door leading to the garbhagrha from the 'antarāla' are extravagantly decorated with mouldings, containing creeper patterns and flying figures holding garlands in their hands.*

(c) *A Jaina Temple in ruins, in Bijawada.* The great Jaina temple at Bijawada, a village 33 miles west of Nemawar and 49 miles east of Indore, is in absolute ruins. The most notable objects in it are three colossal Digambara Jaina images. One of them contains a date, Sam. 1234 = 1177 A. D., on the pedestal.

A TEMPLE OF ŚIVA AT MODI.

Modi is the chief village of the pargana of the same name. It is thirteen miles east of Rampur, Central India, and was a place of great importance during the rule of the Paramāras. Heaps of ruins of a large number of buildings attest its former greatness. A stone inscription of the Paramāra Jayavarman, dated Sam. 1314 = 1257 A. D., has been discovered there. At present only one temple of Śiva stands in the village, which is also in a very miserable condition. The garbhagrha is almost perfect. On the lintel of the doorway leading to its interior is a figure of Śiva, known as Lakulīśa. The basement stones contain some inscriptions in characters of the twelfth century A. D. There are no traces of the maṇḍapa and other subsidiary temples.

Close to the above temple are the remains of part of a maṇḍapa of another fane. It now contains four

* Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1921, pp. 98-106.

2 Ibid.

pillars, gracefully decorated and supporting square brackets. It is believed to have been one of the finest temples in Malwa.¹

THE MEHIDPUR TEMPLES.

The modern District of Mehidpur lies in Central Malwa, and is not far from Ujjain. The villages of Jharda, Makla and Delchi are within its jurisdiction. Considerable remains of the architectural buildings of the mediaeval period are to be traced there. Outside the village of Jharda are two ancient Brahmanic temples, one dedicated to Śiva and the other to Hanumat. In the interior of the village a number of Brahmanic and Jaina images are to be found. On the pedestal of a Jaina sculpture is an inscription, containing the date Sam. 1229 = 1172 A. D.

The fanes of Gaṇapati and Mākāleśvara Śiva are the two most important buildings in the village of Makla. They were built during the eleventh or twelfth century A. D. The Mākāleśvara temple is in good order, and deserves special attention. The garbhagṛha and the śikhara are quite perfect. The horizontal bands of the śikhara bear a series of conventional 'caitya' windows, one over the other. The walls of the śikhara and the garbhagṛha are almost plain, and contain very poor decorations. The āmalakasilā is proportionately bigger in size. The original maṇḍapa has been destroyed, and the present one is a recent addition.²

¹ Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1920, pp. 100-102.

² Ibid.

THE GREAT TEMPLE OF ŚIVA AT BHOJPUR.¹

At Bhojpur. in the Bhopal State, there is a large temple of Śiva known as Bhojeśvara, which was evidently named after the great king Bhoja. It is a building of the eleventh or twelfth century A. D., and is in plan a simple square. It differs from others of its class in this respect that it has no re-entrant angles. Its exterior dimension is 66 feet. Four massive pillars support an incomplete dome inside the building. Each of them is 40 feet high, and is divided into three sections. The lower two are octagonal, and are surmounted by a 24-faced section. The whole of the pillar is tapering in appearance. The dome itself is magnificent, and is carved with rich designs. There are two sculptured figures on either side of the doorway, which is richly decorated above but plain below. There are three balconies on three sides, each supported by massive brackets and four decorated pillars. Inside the building lies a colossal 'lingam', seven and a half feet high and seventeen feet eight inches in circumference, on a platform made of three superimposed blocks of sandstone, twenty-one and a half feet square. The temple, though incomplete, is singularly beautiful.

A Jaina temple of the same age lies close to the above shrine. It is rectangular and incomplete. It contains two figures of Pārśvanātha and one colossal statue of Mahāvira, twenty feet high.

BIJAMANDIRA AT BHILSA.

On the outskirts of the modern town of Bhilsa, in the Gwalior State, there is a Muhammadan mosque known locally as 'Bijamandira'. A careful examination

¹ Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. VIII, p. 121.

of this building reveals the fact that it is a converted Hindu temple of mediæval times. A long inscription of Naravarman's reign has been discovered on one of its pillars, which records the king's unvarying devotion to the Goddess Caroikā. It may be that the fane originally belonged to this Goddess. Another inscription, of Udayāditya's reign (*i. e.* Udayavarman), dated Śaka 1103—1186 A. D., has been found inserted in the wall of this temple.¹

BHOJAŚĀLĀ AT DHAR.

The tradition runs that the modern Kamalmauli mosque at Dhar was originally a building of the college established by Bhoja. It is still known as 'Bhojaśālā' (Bhoja's School) to the local Hindu population. Two slabs of stone, incised in the walls of this building, contain inscriptions of the reigns of Bhoja and Arjunavarman. Besides these, inscriptions of the reigns of Udayāditya and Naravarman, and a chart containing the Sanskrit alphabet and rules of grammar, have also been discovered here. The modern structure is quite Muhammadan in style,² and seems to have been constructed with the materials of a Hindu temple which stood on the same site. Dr. Bhandarkar³ is inclined to think that it was the site of the temple of Sarasvatī, mentioned in the *Parijata-mañjarī*.

SCULPTURE.

All these details give us an idea of the architectural skill to which the people of Malwa attained during

¹ J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 35.

² J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, pp. 341, 345.

³ Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1904, p. 18.

the happy period of the Paramāra dynasty. Iconography also rose to a high level at this same time. In Sam. 1091-1084 A. D., by the orders of Bhoja, the famous sculptor Manathala¹ executed an image of Sarasvatī, now in the custody of the British Museum, which has all the characteristics of mediæval sculptures. The Goddess is in the 'abhāṅga' pose, with four hands, the front pair being now imperfect, half of each having disappeared. She wears a crown, and her ear-rings hang down to her shoulders, whilst round her neck is a pearl necklace, and a pearl-embroidered band encircles her breast; her waist is also decorated all round. She is attended by five subordinate figures, two above and three below. On the left, below, are a ṛṣi and a dwarf, and on the right, probably, Pārvatī on the lion. On the left above is a flying female figure with a garland in her hand; the other figure is indistinct. The Devī is in meditative mood, and her face is lovely and serene. Mr. O. C. Ganguly, an expert iconographist, remarks² that the "image is a *chef d'œuvre* of rare beauty, in its exquisite serenity of pose, in its entrancing and balancing rhythm, in the elegance and suavity of its aquiline features, and in the general restraint in the treatment of the anatomy, which is almost free from any exaggeration. To us, the emotion of its static conception, almost alternating between a 'rājasik' and a 'sātvik', is most appealing." The image is also of great value for more than one reason. In it we find the union of characteristic features of both the North and South Indian sculptures. Its 'uru malai' (thigh ornament) and carnet are Dravidian in style,

¹ Rūpam, January, 1924, p. 2. Elements of Hindu Iconography, (by Mr. G. Rao.). Vol. I, Part II, pp. 377-78.

² Ibid., p. 1.

The ornaments of its arms remind us of the early images of Bengal and Orissa.

Another image¹ has been discovered in the Devī tank at Dhar. It is carved out of hard white stone, and is in perfect condition. An inscription on the pedestal, recording its installation, is dated Sam. 1188 = 1081 A. D., which falls within the reign of Udayāditya. Mr M. B. Garde identifies the Goddess as Pārvatī. The style of her ornamentation agrees in general with that of the Sarasvatī image of Bhoja. Her crown differs in detail from that of the above-mentioned image, but she too wears the necklace and garlands of pearls and earrings, and her four hands are adorned with ornaments. Her breast-band, drapery, and thigh ornament are similar to those of the Sarasvatī image, but she is attended by eight figures. Above are representations of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and Śiva, and below, the female attendants with 'chowries'. Above all are the sacrificial altars, two on each side. The Devī is deeply immersed in meditation, with her hands in an attitude of prayer. Her face breathes an air of purity and is expressive of divine serenity. Mr. Garde suggests that she is engaged in performing the 'Pañcāgni-Sādhana' which, according to Purāṇa, was undertaken for obtaining Śiva as her husband.

There is an iron pillar at Dhar, the date of erection of which cannot be definitely ascertained.² It may be the work of Vairisimha II. The Udayapur prasasti³ attributes to him the erection of a number of pillars of victory. Dr. Bhandarkar suggests that it might have

¹ Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. IV, Part II, p. 100 (1922-23).

² A. S. I., 1902-3, pp. 245 ff.

³ E. I., Vol. I, p. 237, v. 8.

been set up by Arjunavarman after his victory over the Gujarat king.¹

Relics of the architectural activities of the Paramāras can also be traced in the far distant country of Kashmir. Kalhana, in his *Rajataranginī*,² records that Bhoja, king of Mālava, once took a vow to wash his face every day with the water of Pāpasūdana tīrtha in Kashmir. He was enabled to fulfil this vow by the good offices of a certain Padmarāja, who excavated a tank for this purpose at Kapoteśvara, whence jugs full of water used to be sent to him. Kapoteśvara is the modern Kother, where the enclosure around the tank still exists, having the characteristics of the structural buildings of the mediæval period. Local tradition runs that a king of the Deccan, once being disfigured by the growth of a number of horns on his head, took his bath in that kuṇḍa (tank), and was relieved of his trouble, whereupon he recorded his gratitude by surrounding it with a wall. Sir A. Stein thinks that there is a good deal of truth in this story, although in those early ages, there was less facility for the conveyance of anything from one country to another. Jamadar Khushal Singh, at the court of Rañjit Singh, often had the water of the Ganges brought to his residence in the Punjab that he might bathe in it. Ranvir Singh of Kashmir drank nothing but Ganges water, which was supplied to him regularly from Hardwar. The Muhammadan historians relate³ that Ganges water was brought regularly to Gujarat, for the baths of Somanātha.

¹ Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, 1904, p. 19.

² Chronicles of Kashmir, translated by Sir A. Stein, Vol. I, p. 284 ; Bk. VII, verses 190-193.

³ Elliot's History of India, Vol. II, p. 469.

Hence it is not impossible to imagine that a great king like Bhoja could make temporary arrangements for bringing water regularly to him from that particular tank in Kashmir.

LITERATURE AND LEARNING.

During the magnificent rule of the Paramāra dynasty Malwa was justly renowned on account of its extensive architectural activities. But behind all these activities, there lay a life, a thought, an ideal whose refinement of character found expression rather in the literature of the time than in such concrete examples. And to this branch of liberal art the government of the country, by its benevolent support, gave opportunity of wide and unbounded development.

The Paramāra kings were great votaries of the Goddess of learning, and were in reality the very heart of the great literary movement of the period. Many of them were themselves great poets. Their generous sympathy encouraged others to devote their lives to the enrichment of the stores of literature. Styaka-Harṣa won imperial status for his family by the strength of his arms, and left to his successors the task of building up an ideal empire. His son Vākpatirāja, while doing full justice to his regal position by his care for the political interests of his realm, spared no effort to further the cause of the literary movement also. The Udayapur praśasti tells us that he cultivated eloquence, lofty poetry, the art of reasoning, and a complete mastery over the rules of the Śāstras.¹ The Kantham² and Yeur grants of the Cālukya Vikramāditya V describe Utpala as the chief of poets. Padmagupta writes that

¹ E. I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 16.

² I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, —kavi-vṛṣa.

"after Vikramāditya and Śātavāhana had gone home, the Goddess Sarasvatī reposed beside this poet friend." 1

To-day, all we know of the king's compositions are in the form of quotations made by contemporary and later authors in their own writings. Dhanika, in his commentary on Daśarūpa, twice quotes a verse, whose authorship he ascribes in one place to Vākpatirāja, and in the other to Muñja. 2 The Kashmirian poet Kṣemen-dra, quotes three different stanzas, composed by Utpala-rāja, in his books Suvṛttatilaka, 3 Kavikaṇṭhābharana, 4 and Aucityavicāracarcā. 5 This last is a treatise on 'alaṃkāra', in which the verse composed by the king begins with "ahau vā hare vā" etc. The same stanza occurs in the anthology of Vallabhadeva, its author being given as Vākpati, the son of Harṣadeva. 6 In the Rasikasamjivanti Arjunavaraman quotes a verse, the authorship of which he ascribes to his ancestor Muñja, whose other name was Vākpati. 7 Two other verses by the king are reproduced in the Śārṅgadharapaddhati (1363 A. D.). 8 Merutuṅga has incorporated in his Prabandhacintāmaṇi some verses, which, according to him, were composed by the king during his captivity in the Deccan. 9

1 Atite Vikramāditye gate' staṃ Śātavāhane |
Kavi-mitre viśākrāma yasmin devī Sarasvatī ||
(Navas., Sarga xi, v. 93.)

2 Praṇaya-kupitaṃ dṛṣṭa, vs. 66, 67.

3 Kāvya-mālā-Part 2. ed. Durgaprasad and Parab. Bombay 1886, —. 37.

4 Ibid., Part 4, 1887, p. 125.

5 Ibid., Part 1, 2nd ed. 1893, p. 131.

6 Subhāṣitāvali—3413, 3414 ; Peterson, p. 449.

7 Amarusataka—Durgaprasad and Parab, 1819, p. 23.

8 Vs. 126 (by Vākpatirāja), 1017 (by Utpalarāja).

9 Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 33-35. Mr. Tawney remarks

"Muñja-pratideśa-vyavasthā", a geographical description of India, is said to have been written by Vākpati-rāja.¹ His death was a real loss to the literary circles of that period. He is said to have exclaimed, when he was led to execution in the Cālukya capital—

"Fortune will go to Govinda ; glory and heroism to the house of the Hero ;

"But when Muñja has passed away, that storehouse of fame, Sarasvatī, will be without support."

Sindhurāja's valuable patronage was a great inducement to the poets of his time to continue their work. His bounty to men of letters was immeasurable. His son Bhoja took great interest in literary activities.

Vastupāla, who was the governor of Vāghelā Viradhavala, at Cambay, flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century A. D., and he also was a great patron of poets. In the 'Vasantavilāsa his enormous bounty towards them is compared with that of Bhoja and Muñja. It tells us² that he offered so many gifts to the men of wisdom, that before them long accumulated fame of Bhoja and Muñja paled into insignificance.

Merutunga, being unable to determine the age of Bāṇa, Mayūra, and Māgha, placed them in Bhoja's entourage.³ These erudite scholars flourished long before the king's accession. The Bhoja-carita gives the names of a large number of poets as contemporaries of Bhoja.

that the speeches of Muñja are to be looked upon as based on oral tradition.

1 As. Re., Vol. IX, p. 176.

2 Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 35.

3 Kāvya-keli-rasikaḥ kavi-vṛndāvarjanam samataniṣṭa tathā-sau Muñja-Bhoja-yāśasām dhruvam ojaḥ-sañcayo bhuvi yathā sau vṛthā' bhut (sarga 5, v. 14).

4 Prabandhacintāmaṇi pp. 48-52, 64, 65.

But the list is erroneous from the chronological point of view. There can hardly be any doubt that a large number of poets lived in Malwa under his benevolent patronage. Kalhana tells us¹ that both Kalāśa (1063-1089 A. D.) and Bhoja were very learned, and were the friends of poets. The king occasionally encouraged men of letters by conferring on them honorific titles. Bhāskarabhaṭṭa, son of the poet Trivikrama, received from him the title of 'Vidyapati.'² The Āīn-i-Akbarī³ relates that—"Bhoja held wisdom in honour, the learned men were treated with distinction, and seekers after knowledge were encouraged by his support. Five hundred sages, the most erudite of the age, shone as the gathered wisdom of his court, and were entertained in a manner becoming their dignity and merit"⁴

The Udayapur praśasti⁵ glorifies Bhoja as the king of poets. He is said to have composed a large number of books and the authorship of the following works is ascribed to him.⁶

NAME OF WORK	SUBJECT OF WORK
(a) Adityapratāpasiddhānta	(a) Astronomy
(b) Āyurvedasarvasva	(b) Medicine
(c) Campurāmāyana	(c)
(d) Oṇakyaṇṭi (?)	(d)
(e) Oṇrucaryā	(e) Religion
(f) Tattvapraśāsa	(f) Śaivism
(g) Nāmamālīkā	(g) Lexicography
(h) Yuktikalpataru	(h) Arts, etc.

¹ Stein's Rājatarāṅgiṇī, Vol. I., p. 290.

² E. I., Vol. I, p. 340.

³ Translated by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 216.

⁴ E. I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 18. Kavirāja.

⁵ Catalogus Catalogorum, Aufrecht, Part I, p. 418.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| (i) Rājamārtanḍa Yogasūtravṛtti | (i) Commentary on
Yogasūtra |
| (j) " " | (j) Astronomy |
| (k) Rājamrgāṅka Yogasūtravṛtti | (k) „, and Medicine |
| (l) Vidyāvinoda | (l) Poetry |
| (m) Vidvajjanavallabha | (m) Astronomy |
| Prasnajiñāna | |
| (n) Viśrantavidyāvinoda | (n) Medicine |
| (o) Vyavahārasamuccaya | (o) Religion |
| (p) Śabdānuśāsana | (p) Grammar |
| (q) Śālihotra | (q) Farriery |
| (r) Śivatattvaratnakalikā | (r) |
| (s) Samarāṅganasutradhāra | (s) Architecture |
| (t) Sarasvatikanṭhābharana | (t) Alamkāra |
| (u) Siddhāntasamgraha | (u) Śaivism |
| (v) Subhāsitaprabandha | (v) |
| (w) Two Prākṛit Poems at Dhar ¹ | (w) |

It is doubtful whether Bhoja himself wrote so many books on different subjects. Some of them might have been his own productions, but the rest seem to have been written by a group of literary men under his guidance. Of all the books in the above list, Rājamrgāṅka alone contains the date of its composition, which is expressed in the Śaka era as 964-1042-1048 A. D. The king is highly esteemed by the poets Cittapa, Deveśvara, Vināyaka, Śaṅkara, and Sarasvatikūṭumbadhīṭṭ. He is referred to by Daśabala, Allāḍanātha, Raghunandana and Śūlapāṇi in the Prāyaścittaviveka. He is quoted in Bhāvapraśāsa and Mādhava's Rugvinīścaya as a writer on medicine. As an astronomer he is noticed by Keśavārka, and as a grammarian and lexicographer by Kṣīrasvāmi, Śāyana, and Mahīpa.²

¹ E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 241 ff.

² Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I, p. 418.

Both Udayāditya and Naravarman were staunch supporters of all cultural movements. Naravarman himself was a poet. He composed the Nagpur prasasti.¹ His court was adorned with a large number of poets. On one occasion, two learned men, from a foreign country, visited Naravarman's court at Dhārā, and proposed to the assembled company some poetic riddles. As none of the Court poets was able to solve them, the king sent them to Jaina teacher Jinavallabha, who lived at Citrakūṭa (Chitor). Jinavallabha at once gave them the right solutions, and returned them to the king. Naravarman was highly pleased with him, and received him with great honour upon his visiting Dhārā on a subsequent occasion. A large sum of money was offered him as a gift, but he refused to accept it, and requested the king to make some endowments, instead, to the Jaina temples at Citrakūṭa.²

Next, and the last of the Paramāra kings, to be endowed with poetical genius, was Arjunavarman. His inscriptions³ celebrate his merit by stating that he was a repository of poetry and song, and that he relieved the Goddess of Learning of her volumes and lute. He is the author of :—

(a) Basikajivani Kāvya

(b) Rasikasampjivini Amaruśataka-tīkā.

His court also was graced by a large number of poets.

Even in the dark days of the decline of their power, the Paramāra kings did not withdraw their support from

¹ E. I., Vol. II, p. 180.

² Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., 1882-3, p. 47.

³ Kāvya-gāndharva-sarvasva-nidhiṇā yena sāmpratam |
bhārāvatarāṇaṁ devyāḥ cakre pustaka-viṇayoh || V. 18.

J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 26.

those devoted to learning. Bhoja II is said to have been a great patron of poets, like his predecessor of the same name.¹

During the period under review, many educational institutions were established in Malwa for the cultural development of the people. The modern Kamalmaula mosque at Dhârâ, as we have already noticed, is believed to have been a school building erected by Bhoja. The tradition is strongly corroborated by the discovery of two charts on the walls of that building, which contain alphabets and rules of grammar.² They are very important, inasmuch as they give us an idea of the method of teaching that was pursued in those ancient days. The first is sketched out by the windings of a single serpent. On its body is engraved the Sanskrit alphabet in the Nāgarī characters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries A. D. The tail contains the inflectional terminations of nouns and verbs. There are altogether fifty-three letters and symbols, and twenty-one nominal and eighteen verbal inflectional terminations in it.

The second chart is made up by the intertwining of two serpents. Its object is to record some chief rules of Sanskrit "Kā-tantra" grammar. Personal terminations of ten tenses, moods and three numbers are described. There are also two sets of terminations, viz, Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, for each tense and mood.

Both these records were certainly set up there for the guidance of the pupils. A similar mode of teaching adopted all over the country, and charts of exactly the same type are also found in the temple of Mahākālā at Ujjain,³ and in a fane at Un.⁴ Through the strenuous

1 Hammīra-mahākāvya, I. A., Vol VIII, p. 64

2 J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, pp. 350-351.

3 Prog Report of the A. S., Western Circle, 1913, p. 55.

4 A. S. I., 1918-19, Part I, p. 17.

efforts of all these institutions, Malwa became a chief centre of cultural activities in India. In Sarp. 1282-1175 A. D., Narapati composed a treatise on omens, entitled 'Narapati-jayacaryā', in which he describes the country of Malwa as being the abode of learning, where, in the city of Dhārā, Āmradeva, lived. This atmosphere, creative of literary genius, invited many students from the neighbouring territories to migrate and settle there. Thus, under the benevolent care of the Paramāras, Malwa became the resort of the most renowned and brilliant scholars and literary men of the age. Of these, the earliest known was Dhanapāla, who flourished at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries A. D.

DHANAPĀLA

Sarvadeva, the father of Dhanapāla, migrated from Madhyadesa, and settled in Ujjain. In fulfilment of his promise to the Jaina Vardhamāna, he asked his son to embrace the Jaina faith ; but Dhanapāla was averse to forsaking the Brahmanical religion, and this refusal to comply with his father's wishes completely dissociated him from his family. He migrated to Dhārā, and there studied all branches of Brahmanic learning, but subsequently, through the influence of his younger brother, he became a follower of the Jaina faith. He gained the favourable notice of king Bhoja, and rose to be one of his principal court poets. The Āin-i-Akbari relates¹

- 1 Vidyālaye Mālava-saṃjñā-deśe Dhārā-purī-ramya-nivāsa-
vāsi ;
nānāgamajño nrpa-loka-pūjyo nāmnĀmra-devo vibudhaḥ
prasiddhaḥ //

(Bhandarkar's Report, 1882-83, pp. 220 cc.)

- 2 Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 54.

- 3 Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 216.

that of the five hundred poets of Bhoja's court, Barruj (Vararuci) was the foremost, and the next Dhanapāla. So far four books have been discovered from the pen of this writer. They are :

- (a) Pāiyalacchī,¹
- (b) Rṣabhapañcāsikā,
- (c) Tilakamañjarī,²
- (d) A Commentary on Śobhana's Caturvīpśikā.³

The first of these works was composed in Sam. 1029=972 A. D., when Dhanapāla was residing at Dhārā.⁴ The book was composed for the poet's younger sister, Sundarī, whom Mr. Bühler is inclined to identify with the famous Avanti-Sundarī.⁵ In conclusion the poet remarks :—“Those words which, being rich in flavour, are commonly employed in poetry by poets, I have arranged here ; may they gladden the hearts of clever men.” In the ‘maṅgalācarana’ of this book, Brahmā and other deities of the Brahmanical religion are invoked. At the end of the third part, the name of the Tīrthamkara Mahāvira-Jñātiputra is mentioned.

The Rṣabhapañcāsikā consists of fifty verses in honour of the first Tīrthamkara Rṣabha. In conclusion the poet invokes the great Jaina Tīrthamkara⁶ :—“Thus praised with devotion by me, a man of small understanding only, whose Karma is consumed like fuel in the fire of meditation, mayest thou (O Rṣabha!), reward me by pure knowledge, (which is) a boat to cross the ocean of existence.”

¹ Edited by Bühler, Gottingen, 1879.

² Ibid., p. 9.

³ Kāvyaśālā Series, No. 85.

⁴ Bühler, Sc. akad, Wien, 99 (1882), pp. 570-572.

⁵ Pāiyalacchī, v. 277.

⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

⁷ Ibid., p. 6 ; p. 50, v. 270.

⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

This proves the truth of Merutuṅga's statement that Dhanapāla later on became a staunch follower of the Jaina religion.

In connection with the composition of the third book, Tilakamañjarī, Merutuṅga narrates an interesting story. Dhanapāla, he says, was absent from the royal court for a considerable time, and, on Bhoja's enquiring into the cause of this, the poet replied that he was busy writing the Tilakamañjarī, which had just been completed. The king was curious to read the book, and, when he had done so, he was much impressed by its merit, and asked the poet to make him the hero of the tale, changing the name of the country from Vinatā to Avanti. But Dhanapāla refused to comply with the king's request, whereupon Bhoja became highly incensed, and burnt the entire manuscript. This gave a rude shock to the poet's feeling, and he became dejected and broken at the loss of his precious book. But, fortunately for him, his daughter Bālapanditā, was a woman of keen intelligence, and she remembered half the text of the book, and reproduced it in the original form. This, to a certain extent, consoled the heart of the poet, and, later on, she is said to have composed the remaining portion of the work.¹ We have no evidence to corroborate this story.

ŚOBHANA.

Śobhana, the younger brother of Dhanapāla, lived in Ujjain. His only known composition is the Caturvīṃśikāstuti.²

DHANANJAYA.

Dhanañjaya, son of Viṣṇu, was one of the learned

¹ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 60-61.

² Text, edited by Jacobi, Z. D. M. G. 32 (1878), pp. 509-534.

scholars of the age. He was a poet in the court of Vakpati-Muñja, and composed a masterly work on Hindu dramaturgy, named 'Daśarūpa',¹ in which he remarks that he developed his literary genius by discursing with the sovereign lord Muñja.² The Saduktikarpāmṛta, the anthology of Śrīdharadāsa, quotes a verse from it.³

DHANIKA.

Dhanika, son of Viṣṇu, was a brother of Dhanañjaya. He was originally an inhabitant of Abhicchatra, and settled in Mālava before Sam. 1031=974 A. D.⁴ He was connected with the administrative department of the Paramāra government. In one of his compositions he speaks of himself as a "mahāśādhyapāla" of king Utpalarāja.⁵ He cultivated the art of literature, in which he attained a high degree of perfection. He wrote a commentary in prose on Dhanañjaya's 'Daśarūpa' entitled Daśarūpāvaloka or Daśarūpālōka, which gives clear proof of his high intellectual and literary attainments. It appears to have been written in the early part of the eleventh century A. D., as it contains a passage from Padmagupta's Navasahasāṅka-carita. One of the manuscripts, at the end of the first book, contains a verse

¹ Edited by G. C. Haas, New York, Columbia University Press, 1910.

² Viṣṇoḥ sutenāpi Dhanamjayena
Vidvan mano-rāga-nibandha-hetuḥ
aviṣkṛtam Muñja-mahīsa-goṣṭhi
vaidagdhya-bhāṣā Daśarūpam etat ||

(V. 98, p. 848.)

³ Z. D. M. G. 36 (1892), pp. 533-34.

⁴ I. A., Vol. VI, p. 53.

⁵ Wilson, Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, London, 1871, I, XX, XXI.

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of four lines from Kṣemendra's Bṛhat-kathāmañjarī, which was composed about 1087 A. D. This seems to be a later interpolation. Dhanika also wrote a book entitled "Kavyanirṇaya", which is not available now. The Daśarūpāvaloka contains seven verses from it, and twenty-four stanzas from his other compositions, written both in Prakrit and Sanskrit. Three of the twenty-four stanzas are also quoted under his name in the Śaṅga-dharapaddhati.¹ Whilst composing his Daśarūpāvaloka, he consulted many books on Hindu dramas, and other poetical works by eminent authors. It will help us to form some idea as to the sort of books to be found in the literary stores of Malwa in this far-off period. They are as follows :—

DRAMAS STILL EXTANT.

Mṛcchakaṭika
Śakuntalā
Vikramorvaśī
Mālavikāgnimitra
Ratnāvalī
Priyadarsikā
Nāgānanda
Mahāvīra-carita
Uttara-Rāma-carita
Mālatimādhava
Mudrārākṣasa
Ventsamphāra
Karpūramañjarī
Viddhaśālabhañjikā
Anargharāghava
Mahānāṭaka.

¹ Op. cit. 3973, 3417, 278.

² Daśarūpa, ed. Haas, Introduction, pp. XXXVI, seq.

DRAMAS UNPUBLISHED OR NO LONGER EXTANT.

Udattarāghava
 Chalitārāma
 Pāṇḍavananda
 Rāmābhyudaya
 Taraṅgadatta
 Puṣpadūṣitaka.

OTHER WORKS OF SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT
LITERATURE.

Mahābhārata	Śṛṅgaratilaka	Hālasaptasatī
Rāmāyaṇa	KirātArjuniya	Bhartr̥harisatakāni
Meghadūta	Kādambarī	Amaruśataka
Kumārasambhava	Śiśupālavadha	Navasāhasāṅka-carita.
Raghuvamśa	Bṛhatkathā	

MINOR AND UNKNOWN AUTHORS OR WORKS.

Ānandavardhana
 Vikatānitambā (a poetess)
 Vākpatirājadeva
 Rudra
 Dhanika
 Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa's Mahāśvetāvarṇanāvasara.

TECHNICAL WORKS.

Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra
 Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana
 Vākya-padīya
 Kāvya-lamkāra of Rudraṭa.

The voluminous references to authors and works, in his short commentary, prove fully the depth and extent of Dhanika's acquaintance with literature. He was greatly esteemed and honoured by his contemporaries for his vast learning, and left behind him a memory

that will last for ages to come. He is still cherished by lovers of literature, and is looked upon as one of the greatest poets that India has ever produced. A later writer, finding the Sanskrit language and literature in a most deplorable condition, lamented—

“Poetry of the school of Vidarbha was the sportive daughter of Vālmiki, and, having been educated by Vyāsa, she chose Kālidāsa for her bridegroom; she was the mother of Amara, Sundara and *Dhanika*; but now, old and decrepit, lacking ornaments, and her tender feet slipping as she walks, to whom has she not come for shelter?”

PADMAGUPTA.

Padmagupta, whose other name was Parimala, was a court poet of both Vākpati—Muñja and Sindhurāja. He tells us that he followed the path laid down by the poets through the grace of Vākpatirāja. He composed the book *Navasahasāṅka-carita*,³ it is said, at the order of the king Sindhurāja. In his work he mentions the

- 1 Vālmiker-ajani prakāśita-guṇā Vyāsena mīlavatī
Vaidarbhī kavitā svayaṃ vṛtavatī śrī-Kālidāsaṃ varam ॥
yāsūt Āmarasiṃha-Māgha-Dhanikān seyaṃ jarā-nīrasā
śūṇyāśāṃkaraṇā skhalan-mṛdu-padā kaṃ vā janāṃ nāśritā ॥
(J. R. A. S. (New Series), Vol. XV, p. 175.)

- 2 Sarasvatī-kalpa-lataika-kandaṃ
vandāmahe Vākpatirāja-devaṃ ।
yasya prasādād vayam apyāmutra
kavīndra-chīrṇe pathi saṃcarāmaḥ । V. 7.
divaṃ yiyāsura mama vāci mudrāṃ
adatta yaṃ Vākpatirāja-devaḥ ।
Tasyānujanmā kavi-bāndhavasya
bhinatti tāṃ samprati Sindhurājāḥ ॥ V. 8.

(Navas sarga I).

- 3 *Navasahasāṅka-carita*, edited by Pandit Vamana Sastri
Islampurkar, Bombay, 1895, Sanskrit Series, LIII.

names of KALIDĀSA, Guṇāḍya, the author of Brhatkathā, Bāṇa and Mayūra. Verses from the Navasāhasaṅka-carita¹ are quoted in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali,² Dhanika's Daśarūpāvaloka,³ Vardhamāna's⁴ Gaṇaratnamahodadhī, Kāvya-prakāśa, and Jayaratha's Alamkāravimarsinī.⁵

There can hardly be any doubt that Padmagupta produced many other literary works besides the Navasāhasaṅka carita. At the present time only a few of them are known to us.

Kṣemendra quotes five verses in his Suvṛttatilaka, which are extracts from the works of Parimala.⁶ In the Śaṅgadhara-paddhati also a verse composed by Parimala is introduced.⁷

BHAṬṬA HALĀYUDHA.

Bhaṭṭa Halāyudha was a renowned poet of that time. In his early years he was a court poet of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, at Mānyakheta. He wrote his book Kavi-rahasya⁸ in the middle of the tenth century A. D. at the court of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇarāja III.⁹ His earliest work, however, would appear to be one on lexicography, entitled "Abhidhāna-ratnamālā."⁹ Later he migrated to

¹ Peterson, No. 268.

² II, 37.

³ P. 117, 7th edition, Eggeling.

⁴ Kāvya-prakāśa, Calcutta, 1866, pp. 323, 337.

⁵ Deccan College MSS., No. 23, fol. 166b.

⁶ Subhāṣitāvali, Peterson, pp. 51-52 ; J. Bo. Br., Vol. XVI, pp. 173 sqq.

⁷ Subhāṣitāvali, p. 52.

⁸ Published by Heller, Halāyudha's Kavi-rahasyam in beiden Recensionen herausgegeben, Greifswald, 1900.

⁹ cf. Zachariae, "Die indischen Wörterbücher (Kosa)", in Grundriss der ind.-arischen Philologie, I, b, p. 26. (Strassburg, 1897). The text by Aufrecht, London, 1861.

Mālava, and lived in Dhārā, at the court of Muñja. He prepared his "Mṛtasamjivani" a commentary on the "Piṅgala-chandaśśūtra", about this time, and speaks highly of the king's liberality. '

AMITAGATI.

Amitagati was the disciple of Mādhavasena, whose preceptor was Nemiṣena, the head of the Jaina ascetics of the Māthuraśaṃgha. ' He was a scholar of great fame, and flourished in Mālava at the end of the tenth century A. D. and the beginning of the eleventh. He completed his work, "Subhāṣita-ratna-saṃdoha", ' in Sam. 1050 = 993 A. D., when the king Muñja was ruling. His other books are :

- (a) Śrāvaka-cāra '
 - (b) Dharmaparīkṣā '
 - (c) Dvātriṃśatikā. '
 - (d) ...

The Dharmaparīkṣā was composed in Sam 1070 = 1013 A. D.

1 Sa jayati Vākpati-rājāḥ sakalārthi-manorathaika-kalpa-taruḥ |

Pratyarthi-bhūta-pārthiva-lakṣmī-haṭha-haraṇa-durlalitaḥ ||
 Edited by Visvanatha Śāstrī, Calcutta, 1874, (Bibl. Ind.) and by Kedaranatha and Panashikar, Bombay, 1908, (Kāvya-mālā Series, No. 91)

2 Subhāṣita-ratna-saṃdoha, Kāvya-mālā series, No. 82.

3 Samārūḍhe pūta-tridaśa-vasatiṃ Vikrama-nṛpe sahasre varṣāṇaṃ prabhavati hi pañcāśad-adhike | samāptaṃ pañcamyaṃ avati dharaṇiṃ Muñja-nṛpatau site pakṣe Pauṣe budha-hitam idaṃ śāstram anagham || (I. A., XIX. p. 361 ; Hertel, W. Z. K. M. 17, 105-134. The text published in Z. D. M. G., Vols. 59 & 61 ; ibid.

4 Ed. by R. Barjatya, Bombay, 1922.

5 Mironow, Die Dharmaparīkṣā des Amitagati, Leipzig 1903, (dissertation).

6 Ed. by S. Brahmācari, Bombay, 1922.

UVAṬA.

Uvaṭa, or Uaṭa, was the son of Vajrāta, a resident of Ānandapura, the modern Vadnagar, in Gujarat. He settled in Avanti in the first half of the eleventh century A. D., and devoted his time to literary studies. He composed his book "Mantrabhāṣya", a commentary on the Vājasaneyā Saṃhitā, during the reign of Bhoja.¹ He has written a commentary on R̥gveda-pratiśākhya, and he is known as the author of Nigama-bhāṣya, a commentary on Yajurveda.²

SĪTA.

Sita was an eminent poetess, who flourished during the reign of Bhoja.³ Merutuṅga says that she was at first employed as a cook at Dhārā, and that, during this period in her career, a pilgrim, staying in her house, died from taking kanguni oil (aniseed). This so alarmed her, lest she should be charged with his murder, that she tried to commit suicide by taking a dose of the same emetic. But, instead of dying, she found herself thereby endowed with a brilliant intellect, and thereupon she set to work to study the three Vedas, Raghuvamśa, the Kāmasāstra of Vātsyāyana, and Cāpakya's treatise on polity. Having thus become accomplished in various arts, she went to the court of Bhoja with her daughter Vijayā, where she gave proof of her supreme literary merit in the royal assembly, and was highly appreciated by the king. Merutuṅga's report appears to be clothed with fiction.

Padmagupta also refers to a poetess Sita, who is said to have composed songs eulogising the deeds of Upendra,

¹ Bhandarkar's Report, 1882-83, pp. 2-3.

² Peterson's 4th Report. Introduction p. 17.

³ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 63-64.

the founder of the Paramāra dynasty in Mālava. The two ladies would seem to be identical.

BILHANA.

Bilhana, the Minister of Peace and War under king Vindhyavarman, was famous for his learning. Āśadhara describes him as the lord of poets, but none of his work is known to us.

ĀŚADHARA.

This great Jaina scholar flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century A. D.¹ He was the son of Sallakṣaṇa, a member of the Vyāghreravāla family, and was born in the fortress of Maṇḍalakara, situated in Sapādalakṣa. His mother's name was Ratnī. Sarasvatī was his wife, and she gave birth to his son, Chahada. When Sapādalakṣa was conquered by Shihāb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Ghori in 1192 A. D., Āśadhara, for fear of being molested by the conquering armies, left his native country, and migrated with his family to Mālava. He was a contemporary of the kings Vindhyavarman, Arjunavarman, Devapāla, and Jaitugideva. The town of Nalakachapura was the chief centre of his activities as a writer and as a teacher, and it was through his learned instruction that several great scholars of high merit were produced at that period. Devacandra studied grammar under him; Viśalakīrti attained a mastery over "Tarkaśāstra", sitting at his holy feet; Vinayacandra became well-versed in the doctrine of the Jains under his careful supervision; and he taught Madana the art of poetry.⁴

1 Navasāhasāṅka-carita, Sarga XI, v. 77.

2 Āśadhara's Dharmāmṛta, Grantha-prāśasti, vs. 6-7.

3 Ibid.

4 Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., 1883-84, p. 104.

A large number of books, poems and commentaries are attributable to him, of which the following are known to us to-day :¹

NAME OF WORK.	DESCRIPTION.
(a) Prameyaratnākara	A metaphysical treatise on
(b) Bharateśvarābhyudaya with a gloss	Syādvāda. A poem.
(c) Dharmāmṛta with a gloss entitled Jñānadi- pikā	The Essence of the teaching of the Arhat.
(d) Rājmativipralambha with a gloss	A small poem on Nemi.
(e) Adhyātmarahasya	A treatise, useful to those
(f) Glosses on the Mūlārā- dhanā, Caturvimsatis- tava etc.,	practising 'Yoga'.
(g) Kriyākālāpa	From the Amarakośa.
(h) A Commentary on Rudraṭa's KāvyaĀlap- kāra.	
(i) Sahasranāmastavana of the Arhats with a gloss.	
(j) Jinayājñakalpa	With a gloss entitled Jinayājñakalpadīpikā.
(k) Triṣaṣṭismṛti	Containing stories about the sixty-three persons, abridged from sacred Mahā- purāṇas with a commentary.
(l) Nityamahoddyota	Describing the manner of washing the image of the Jinas and worshipping of them.

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NAME OF WORK.	DESCRIPTION
(m) Ratnatrayavidhāna	Explaining the importance of the Worship.
(n) Astāṅgahrdayoddyota	Written to render the Vāgbhata-saṃhitā plain and easy.
(o) Bhavyakumudacandrikā	A commentary on a particular topic of Dharmā-mṛta, treating of the duties of the Yatis or monks.

Of these works, Triṣaṣṭismṛti is described as having been written in Sam 1292=1235 A. D., during the reign of Devapāla, and Bhavyakumudacandrikā was completed in Sam.1300=1243 A. D., when Jaitugideva was on the throne of Malwa. Āśādhara furnishes us with a short account of what inspired him to the composition of the latter work. *

In the city of Nalakacchapura, he says, there was a personage named Pāpa, an influential and well-to-do citizen, belonging to the Khaṅkhilya family, who was a devoted adherent of the Jaina faith. He had two sons, Bahudeva and Padmasiṃha. Bahudeva's three sons were Haradeva, Udayin and Stambhadeva. Haradeva told Āśādhara that a commentary on the duties of laymen, as laid down in the Dharmāmṛta, had been written by Mahīcandra, the Śādhu, and that there was a need for similar work on the duties of the Yatis, which was the most difficult portion of the book. He requested Āśādhara to undertake this commentary, and the latter eagerly complied, with the result that "Bhavyakumudacandrikā" was produced.

Āśādhara was an eminent man of letters. His

contributions to the literature of the country were obviously of great service to the progress of its civilisation.

MADANA.

Madana was born of a family of Gauḍa, and was a descendant of Gaṅgādhara.¹ In his early years he learnt the art of poetry from Âśādhara,² and obtained the title of "Bālasarasvatī", in recognition of his poetic genius,³ rising to the position of royal preceptor⁴ during the reign of Arjunavarman. His facile pen also produced the drama of "Pārijāta-mañjarī" or, as it is sometimes called, "Vijayaśrī", commemorating the victory of Arjunavarman over the Gujarat king, Jayasimha.⁵ In his commentary on Amaruśataka, Arjunavarman quotes one of Madana's verses in Śardūlavikṛdita, and ascribes to him the authorship of an Āryā and two Anuṣṭubha verses.⁶ Three inscriptions of the reign of Arjunavarman, which have been noticed above, were also composed by him.⁷

DEVENDRA.

The Jaina teacher Devendra, the disciple of Jagadendra, lived at Ujjain, and converted Viradhavala and Bhīmasimha into his own faith in Sam. 1323=1266 A.D.

¹ Gauḍānvaya-Gaṅgā-pulina-rā(ja-haṃ)sasya (Gaṅgādhara)-rāyaṇe (r Madanasya rā)ja-guroḥ.....(E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 101-2.)

² Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS, 1883-84, p. 104.

³ Ibid.

⁴ J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 33.

⁵ E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 101 seq.

⁶ Commentary on Amaruśataka, pp. 15, 16, and 44.

⁷ Vide ante, p. 201.

He died in Mālava in Sam. 1327=1270 A. D. The following works were produced by him :

- (a) Śrāddha dina kṛtya.¹
- (b) Karma-grantha (a treatise in Prakrit Āryā verse on the Jaina theory of the future influence of arts).
- (c) Siddha-pañcāśikā (50 Prakrit Āryā verses on the beings who attain spiritual beatification, said to be excerpted from the Siddha-pāhuda (Prābhṛta).
- (c) Dharmaratnavṛtti.
- (c) Sudarśanā-caritra.
- (f) Caitya-vandana-bhāṣya, Guru-vandana bhāṣya and Pratyākhyāna-bhāṣya.
- (g) Siri Usaha Vaddhamānaprabhṛtistavādayaḥ.
- (h) Siddha-daṇḍikā-stava (on the apotheosis of the kings of Trikhaṇḍa, of family of Nābhi), Śrāvaka-dinakṛtya.

DHARMAGHOSA.

Devendra's successor in the "Śūtripada" was Vidyānanda, who was followed by Dharmaghosa. This last mentioned teacher died in Sam. 1357=1300 A. D. His works include the following :²

- (a) Saṃghācārākhya bhāṣyavṛtti,
- (b) Sudhammetistava,
- (c) Kāyasthitibhavasthitistavau,
- (c) Caturvīṃśati-jinastavāḥ,
- (e) Śastāśarmety-ādistotram,
- (f) Devendrairanisam iti śleṣastotram,
- (g) Yūyam yuvātvam iti śleṣastutayaḥ,

¹ I. A., Vol. XI, p. 255.

² Peterson's 4th Report, Intro. p. 57.

³ Ibid, p. 64. I. A., Vol. XI, p. 255.

- (h) Yamakastuti,
- (i) Śatapadika or Praśnottara paddhatiḥ,
- (j) Kāla-saptatiḥ.

The above category includes all that are known of the most renowned poets and authors who flourished in Malwa during the period under discussion. A short review of what has been said makes it clear that, from every angle, the civilisation of Malwa, during the happy rule of the Paramāras, rose to a very magnificent position. Politically, the dynasty achieved great and glorious success. Architecture reached a high pitch of excellence, and the temples of Udayapur and of Un rank high among the best specimens of ancient Indian architectural remains. But above all else, Malwa can claim the highest credit for her rich contributions to the stock of Sanskrit literature. In those ancient days, few provinces of India witnessed the birth of so many literary magnates, within so short a period, as did Malwa during the reign of the Paramāra dynasty. The literature of a country is admittedly the crucial test of its culture, and Malwa, through her possession of so valuable, varied and rich a literature, has proved her high achievement in that direction. At the back of all these constructive movements were the Paramāra kings. Their unstinted liberality, never failing encouragement and generous sympathy always served as a driving force towards the progressive realisation of an ideal State.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ABU BRANCH OF THE PARAMĀRA DYNASTY.

In the first chapter of this book we have discussed at some length the question as to the origin of the junior lines of the Paramāra princes. There, we have noticed that Vākpati-Muñja established three new settlements at Jalor, Bhinmal and Mount Abu, to which he appointed the princes of his family as governors. Among all these minor families, the Paramāras of Abu deserve our first and foremost consideration for their significant political achievements. The following pages, therefore, will be devoted to recording their history and culture.

The territory over which this Abu branch held sway was known as Arbuda-maṇḍala.¹ It extended at least as far as Delwara on the east, Palanpur on the south, and the Godwar District on the north.² It was bounded on the west by the territories of the Paramāras of Bhinmal. The seat of government was fixed at Candrāvati,³ situated on the bank of the Banas, near the south-east border of the Sirohi State, in Rajputana. The city is now in complete ruins.

Our information regarding the early history of the family is very meagre. Aranyarāja, son of Utpala, was the first prince of the line to enjoy the sovereignty of this territory. He was succeeded by Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja, a prince of great renown. Hemacandra's Dvyāśraya-

¹ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 13.

² Pārtha-parākrama, II, (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 4),

³ J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 75.

⁴ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 155, v. 5.

mahākāvya ' narrates that the Caulukya Mūlarāja (941-997 A. D.) of Gujarat, was assisted by the Rāja of Arbuda in his war against Graharipu, chief of Saurāṣṭra. Kṛṣṇarāja or his father Aranyarāja might have been the prince of Abu referred to above. The Vasantgadh inscription of Pūrṇapāla was examined by both Captain Burt and Pandit Kamalakanta, some time before 1841 A. D. Both of them found a name, Śrīnāthaghoṣṭi, mentioned in the record, as that of the successor of Adbhuta Kṛṣṇarāja. Since then, the stone inscription was lost sight of for a time, but, subsequently, Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha succeeded in recovering it. Professor Kielhorn, while re-editing it from a fresh impression, found that the name Śrīnāthaghoṣṭi had totally disappeared from the place where it was supposed to have existed. ³

DHANDHUKA.

The next ruler of this family was Mahīpāla, whose successor was Dhandhuka. Dhandhuka was a contemporary of the king Bhoja of Malwa, during whose reign the enmity between the house of Anhilwar and that of Dhārā became very acute. As soon as the wave of Maḥmūd's invasion had passed away, Bhīma I of Gujarat succeeded in restoring his kingdom to a state of normal order. About this time he seems to have turned his arms against the Paramāras of Abu, and to have demanded the submission of their ruler Dhandhuka. But Dhandhuka refused to bow down before the authority of the Caulukyas, and, being unable to with-

¹ 5th Sarga, v. 37.

² J. A. S. B., Vol. X, pp. 667, 670-71.

³ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 56.

stand their attack, took refuge with Bhoja of Dhārā.¹ After this, Bhīma easily conquered Arbuda-maṇḍala and appointed Vimāla, of the Prāgvātavamśa, to govern it on his behalf.² In the year Sam 1088=1031 A. D., during his viceroyalty, Vimāla built a magnificent temple of Ādinātha on the Mount Abu.³

PŪRNAPĀLA.

Bhīma, however, could not long maintain his authority over Abu. Dhandhuka's son and successor, Pūrṇapāla, probably with the assistance of Bhoja, succeeded in establishing his authority over his paternal territory. He is described as ruling over Arbuda-maṇḍala, having conquered his enemy.⁴ Amṛtadevī was the name of Dhandhuka's queen, who was the mother of Pūrṇapāla and Lāhiṇī Devī.⁵ Lāhiṇī was married to

1 Camdrāvatīpurīśaḥ samajani vīrāgraṇī(r) Dha(m)dhuḥ ||
Śrī-Bhīmadevasya nṛpaśa(sya) sevām amanya (m) ānaḥ
kila Dhaṁdhurājāḥ |
nareśa-roṣāc ca tato manaśvī(svī) Dhārādhipaṁ Bhojan-
paṁ prapade || 6
(Mount Abu Vimāla temple inscriptions, E. I., Vol. IX,
pp. 155-156.)

2 Tava(ta)ś ca Bhīmena narādhipena sa pratāpa-bhūrmī-
(mī)r Vimālo mahāmātīḥ |
kva(kṛ)t O'(r)bude daṁḍapatīḥ satāṁ priyaḥ priyavado
naṁdatu Jaina-śāsane || 8
(Mount Abu Vimāla temple inscription, E. I., Vol. IX, p.
156.)

3 Mount Abu Vimāla temple inscription, E. I., IX, p. 156.

4 Utpaṇnam asyāsuvi Pūrṇapālaḥ pūrṇām imāṁ pālaya
- v - 11 - v - (ro 'p)ī vijitya śattrūṁ(n) śaśāsa bhūmaṇḍa-
lām Arbudasya || 8
(Vasantgadh inscription, E. I., Vol. IX, p. 13.)

5 Ibid., v. 11.

Vigraharāja, son of Caca and grandson of Durlabharāja, the ruler of Badarī in Vamśaratha. Samgamarāja was the name of Durlabha's father. He was born of the lineage of Bhavagupta, the ruler of Vaṭa. Bhavagupta was a descendant of Yoṭa, who was the founder of this royal line.¹

The exact date of Pūrṇapāla's accession cannot be ascertained. Two inscriptions of his reign have been discovered. The earliest of them was found in a tank at Vasantgadh, in the Sirohi State, Rajputana.² It records that Lāhīntī, the sister of Pūrṇapāla, on the sudden demise of her husband Vigraharāja, changed her residence to Vaṭa or Vaṭapura, on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and lived there under her brother's protection. She restored an ancient temple of the sun (Bhānu) in that locality, and excavated there a tank in Sam 1099 = 1042 A. D. The inscription was composed by the Brahman Māṭṛśarman, son of Hari. It was engraved by Śivapāla, son of the architect (sūtradhāra) Deuka and the grandson of Durga. Nāga, a sthapati (carpenter), was the father of Durga.

The Sarasvatī is evidently the modern river of the same name, which, taking its rise from Mount Abu, passes through Gujarat. The tank in which the stone was found is, in all probability, the one referred to in the inscription. If this be the case, then Vaṭapura is to be identified with Vasantgadh.

The second inscription³ was found on a step-well in the village of Bharund, in the Godwar District of the Jodhpur State. Its object is to record the construction of a step-well, in Sam 1102—1045 A. D., in the village

¹ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 13, verses 11-15.

² Ibid., p. 11.

³ J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 78.

of Bhumdipadra, when Mahārājādhirāja Pūrṇapāla was ruling the country. The expenses of its foundation were borne by a number of Brahmans of that village. The names of the architects are given as Dhāreśvara, Deua, Devau and Lahampaśra.

Bhumdipadra, here mentioned, is evidently the same as the village of Bharund where the inscription was discovered. The assumption of the title 'Mahārājādhirāja' by the king shows that he ruled his territory independently of foreign control.

After the termination of the reign of Pūrṇapāla we are in the dark about the history of this family for nearly a century.¹ It does not seem to have suffered any break in the continuity of its rule during this period. Dhūmarāja and Dhruvabhata, as mentioned in the later records, were probably among those who ruled in succession after Pūrṇapāla. The death of Bhoja about 1055 A. D. deprived the Abu princes of a strong supporter against the incursions of the Caulukyas. In the latter part of the sixth decade of the eleventh century A. D., when the Paramāra government was passing through a period of stress and strain, king Bhīma again raised his sword against the territory of Abu. He conquered the province, but seems to have allowed the Paramāra princes to rule it as his vassals. After that, Mount Abu remained a part of the Caulukya empire till the end of the thirteenth century A. D. An inscription² of the reign of Bhīma, dated Sam. 1119—1062 A. D., was

¹ Dr. Bhandarkar thinks (E. I., Vol. XI, p. 68), that Kṛṣṇarāja of the Bhinmal inscription was the successor of Pūrṇapāla. There is no evidence to prove it. Kṛṣṇarāja's grandfather was Devarāja, while the name of Pūrṇapāla's grandfather was Mahtpāla. Vide post.

² No. 1780 of Mr. Cousen's list; E. I., Vol. IX., p. 148.

discovered in the wall of the Mount Abu Vimala temple. It was issued by the king's minister.

VIKRAMASIMHA.

In the second quarter of the twelfth century A. D., the Paramāra Rāmadeva is found to have been ruling over Mount Abu. He was succeeded by his brother Vikramasimha, who was a feudatory of the Caulukya Kumārapāla. While advancing with his armies against the Cāhamānas of Ajmer in 1145 A. D., Kumārapāla halted in Mount Abu, and met Vikramasimha, who accorded him a hearty welcome. But shortly afterwards, when the Gujarat armies were fighting in Marwar, Paramāra prince revolted and probably joined forces with the advancing armies of king Ballāla of Ujjain. Hemacandra does not mention the name of Vikramasimha, but relates that the two feudatories Vijaya and Kṛṣṇa, whom Kumārapāla despatched against Ballāla, while he himself was advancing against Āna, had gone over to the king of Ujjain.* Vikramasimha had however to pay the penalty of his treachery by losing his throne. Jinamaṇḍana's Kumārapālaprabandha states that 'Kumārapāla defeated Vikramasimha in battle, cast him into prison for his evil-doing, and established in his place his nephew Yaśodhavaḷa on the throne of Mount Abu.

1 Dvyāsraya, 19th Sarga, v. 34.

2 Ibid., v. 98.

3 Tataḥ sarvāvasare taṁ Vikramasimham ākārya dvāsaptati
sāmanta-samakṣam.

hakṣayitvā mallaiḥ sajjikṛtya kāragāre nikṣiptavān |
tad-rājyādhipaṁ tasya bhrātṛvyam Yaśodhavaḷa-nāmānaṁ
kṛtavāṁ ca | (p. 42).

YAŚODHAVALA.

Two inscriptions of Yaśodhavalā's reign have been discovered. The earlier one is dated Sam. 1202, Māgha Sudi 14 = February 1145 A. D., and is in a fragmentary state.¹ Its object is to record that the queen Saubhāgya-devī of the Caulukya family, during the reign of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Yaśodhavalā, made certain grants at the village of Ajāhart. It was engraved by the Sūtradhāra Cāhadadeva.

The second inscription² was found in the Acalesvara temple at Mount Abu. It is dated Sam. 1207 = 1150 A.D., and describes Yaśodhavalā as a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. Yaśodhavalā, who owed his throne to Kumārapāla, proved his fidelity to the latter by fighting on his side against the Malwa armies. Kumārapāla, immediately on his return from the battlefield of Ajmer, was informed that Ballāla had already penetrated into the heart of Gujarat and had directed the course of his army towards Anhilwar. He at once sent for a contingent and offered a terrible opposition to his enemy, and Ballāla was defeated and killed.³ On this occasion, Yaśodhavalā rendered great service to his overlord, and claims to have killed the Malwa king. The Mount Abu inscription, at the temple of Neminātha, relates that ' Yaśodhavalā quickly slew Ballāla, the king of Mālava, when he

1 I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 12.

2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 149.

3 Dvyātraya, 19th Sarga.

4 Rodaḥ-kaṇḍaravartti-kīrtti-laharī-liptāmr̥tāṃsu-dyuter
apradayumna-vaśo Yaśodhavalā ity āsit tanūjas tataḥ |
Yaś Caulukya-Kumārapāla-nṛpati-pratyarthitām āgatām
matvā satvaram eva Mālava-patiṃ Ballālam ālabdhavān |

(v. 35).

(E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 210-211; Vide ante, p. 172).

learnt that the latter had become hostile to the Caulukya Kumārapāla. He ended his reign some time before 1163 A. D., the earliest known date of his son and successor, Dhārāvarṣa.

DHĀRĀVARṢA.

Dhārāvarṣa was a famous ruler, and occupied the throne of Abu for a great number of years. Many inscriptions belonging to his reign have been discovered.

(a) A stone inscription,¹ found in a shed near a temple at Kayadra, Sirohi States, records that on Saturday, the 15th half of the bright half of Jyestha, Sam. 1220 = May, 1163 A. D., Mahārājādhirāja Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Dhārāvarṣadeva granted a remission of taxes on the village of Phulahlāṭ, belonging to Bhaṭṭāraka Deveśvara, of the temple of Kāśeśvara. The royal order was executed by the prince (Palhaṇadeva). The inscription also contains details of some other grants. Bāla Kelhaṇa made some donations, the nature of which is not very clear. Amātya Śivasimha, an inhabitant of the village of Vāsaṇa, granted a field. The witnesses of the record were Vijayarāja, son of Vāhaḍa, and Dedā, son of Dejaā. The villages Phulahlāṭ and Vāsaṇa cannot be identified.

(b) The second inscription² was found in the village of Hathar, about three miles north-west of Mount Abu. It is dated Sam 1237 = 1180 A. D., and records that, in the victorious reign of Dhārāvarṣa, the lord of Arbuda, the minister Kovidāsa granted some pasture-lands of the villages of Sāhilavāḍā, Māgavāḍi and Hāthadāṭi and two ploughs of land in the village of

¹ I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.

² Ibid, Vol. XLIII, p. 193.

Kumbhāranuli, to Bhaṭṭāraka Viśala Ugradamaka, a teacher of Śivādharma. The occasion for making this donation was the "Devotthāna ekādaśī". Of the localities, Hāthadālī is evidently the modern Hathar, where the inscription was found.

(c) The third inscription¹ was discovered at Ajari. It states that on Monday, Vaiśākha Sudi 3, Sam 1240 = 1183 A. D., in the victorious reign of Dhārāvarṣa, the ruler of Candrāvati, the wife of the prince Prahlādana granted a certain piece of land to Arhat Jagadeva, while she was residing in the village of Ājāhari. The village mentioned corresponds to the modern Ajari, where the record was discovered.

(d) The fourth inscription² was found in the Madhusūdana temple near Mungthāla, at Mount Abu. It contains the date Sam 1245 = 1188 A. D., and does not report anything of great interest.

(e) The fifth inscription³ was discovered on Mount Abu, and contains the date Sam. 1265 = 1208 A. D. At that time Dhārāvarṣa, the lord of Candrāvati, was ruling the province under his overlord the Caulukya Bhīma II. The prince Prahlādana is described as the heir apparent of Dhārāvarṣa. The author of the record is Kedāramiśra, the head of Śaiva monastery at Ujjain. Its object is to record some architectural works executed by Kedāramiśra and his sister Mokṣeśvari.

(f) The sixth inscription,⁴ dated Sam. 1271, Aśvina (Āśvina) Sudi 4 = October, 1214, A. D., records that the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Dhārāvarṣadeva granted one halavāha of land in the village of Savaḍa Vṛddha, to a merchant named Ampa.

1 Pārtha-parākrama, by Prahlādana, App. II.

2 A. S. I., 1906-7, p. 209.

3 I. A., Vol. IX, p. 221 ; vide post.

4 Ibid, Vol. LVI, p. 51.

(g) The seventh inscription¹ was found broken in a temple of Śiva. It reports that, during the victorious reign of Dhārāvarṣa, son of Yaśodhavala and a descendant of Dhumarāja, certain persons, viz. Rāṇa Vaija, son of Vijaisi, and Lasamsiha, Kamaṇa, Śobhā etc., sons of Rāthauda Āna, of the family of the Hathundi Rājputs, took a vow of observing festivity for two days commencing with the day of Mahārātri (Śivarātri). The inscription was issued in Sam. 1274, between Māgha and Phālguna=January 1217 A. D., on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

Dhārāvarṣa was a great warrior, and was renowned for his skill in archery. On one occasion he succeeded in piercing three buffaloes with a single shot of an arrow.² In order to celebrate this achievement, a statue of him was erected on the edge of the Mandakini tank, outside the temple of Acaleśvara on Mount Abu, with bow in his hand and three buffaloes standing in front, with their bellies pierced through. This statue still exists in perfect condition. Kovidāsa was the minister of the king's government.³

WAR WITH KONKAN.

Dhārāvarṣa was contemporary of the Gujarat kings, Kumārāpāla, Ajayapāla, Mūlarāja II, and Bhīma II. It appears from his inscription, dated 1162 A. D., in which he assumes the titles of both Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and Mahārājādhirāja, that, by that time he had attained to the position of a semi-independent chief. In the early and latter part of his reign, his relations with the Gujarat sovereignty were friendly. He rendered invaluable assistance to them in their times of stress.

¹ I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.

² Pāṇanārāyaṇa inscription, I. A., Vol. XLV, p. 78.

³ Ibid, Vol. XLIII, p. 193.

It has been seen above that Yaśodhavaḷa offered his services to the Cālukyas in their war against the Mālava king. Now Dhārāvārṣa followed the army of Kumārapāla in its march upon Konkan. Merutunga narrates that upon one occasion, when Kumārapāla was giving a general audience to the people, he heard a bard using the great honorific epithet of Rājapitāmaha (grandfather of kings) in connection with the name of Mallikārjuna, the king of Konkan (A. D. 1156-1160). This greatly affected his kingly pride. The minister, Āmbaḍa, who understood the king's feelings at the moment, volunteered to lead an army to Konkan to humble the pride of its ruler. Kumārapāla highly appreciated the offer, and made Āmbaḍa commander-in-chief of the army for that particular occasion. Almost all the eminent chieftains of the empire were sent to assist Āmbaḍa in his operations, and after a long and weary march he reached the enemy's country. While he was crossing the strong tide of the river Kalavini, Mallikārjuna fell upon him and completely wrecked his forces. He returned to Gujarat broken-hearted, with his pride in the dust. But Kumārapāla did not lose faith in his valour, and sent him back with a fresh army to renew operations. On this occasion, Āmbaḍa took great precautions in crossing the aforesaid river. He built a bridge over it, and successfully transported all his armies and landed them safely on the other side. Mallikārjuna opposed him with his might, but this time he was defeated and killed, and his capital was plundered. Āmbaḍa returned to Anhilwar with a load of treasure, and presented Kumārapāla with the head of the defeated king. Someśvara's Kīrtikaumudī¹ and

¹ Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 122-123; Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part I, p. 185 ff.

² Sarga II, vv. 47-48.

Arisimha's *Sukṛtasamkīrtana* ¹ also record Kumārapāla's victory over the Konkan king. Hence the general outline of Merutunga's report may be accepted as true.

Dhārāvarṣa seems to have been one of those chieftains, whose salutary support unquestionably enabled Āmbaḍa to gain so signal a victory. The Mount Abu inscription at the temple of Neminātha, relates that "—When Dhārāvarṣa, inflamed with anger, held his ground on the battle-field, the wives of the lord of Koṅkana shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes." Dhārāvarṣa, in all probability, fought this battle on behalf of his overlord, the Caulukya Kumārapāla.

WAR WITH THE CĀHAMĀNAS OF AJMER.

Arṇorāja, the Cāhamāna king of Ajmer, sustained a heavy defeat at the hand of Kumārapāla, in 1159 A. D. His son Vighraharāja (1153—1164 A. D.) paid off these old scores against the Caulukyās by ravaging the northern territories of the Gujarat empire ². This led Kumārapāla's successor, Ajayapāla, to renew hostilities against Ajmer. He is said to have succeeded in subordinating its king to himself as tributary ³. But as soon as Bhīma II ascended the throne of Anhilwar in 1178 A. D., the hostile relations between himself and the house of Ajmer were resumed. The young Caulukya king is said to have wanted to marry the daughter of the Paramāra Jayatasimha, ruler of Bhinmal. But unfortunately for his desire, the princess was already

¹ Sarga II, v. 43.

² *Krodhākṛāṃta-pradhana-vasudhā-nīscale yatra jātās
cyotan-netrotpala-jala-kaṇṭh Kamkaṇṭhādhīa-patnyāḥ* |
(v. 36.) (E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 211.)

³ J. S. B., Vol LV, p. 41.

⁴ I. A., Vol. VI, p. 195.

betrothed to the Cāhamāna Pṛthvirāja III of Ajmer.¹ This led to war between the Caulukyās and the Cāhamānas, in which the king of the latter, Someśvara,² was killed.³ Pṛthvirāja III (1179-1193 A. D.), immediately after his accessions, led an army against Gujarat. As on previous occasions, Dhārāvārṣa once again proved his fidelity to his overlord by lending him assistance. He offered a strong resistance to the enemy. The Pārtha-parākrama of Prahlādana credits him for repulsing a nocturnal attack by Pṛthvirāja, the king of Jāṅgala (Ajmer).⁴ We are told that Bhīma II suffered a terrible defeat at the hand of the Cāhamāna king in this warfare.⁵

WAR WITH THE GUHILAS OF MEWAR.

As we have already seen in a previous chapter, the Gujarat empire began to degenerate after the death of Kumārāpāla. Malwa was reconquered by the Paramāra Vindhya-varman, and the Cāhamānas of Śākambharti

1 Vide post.

2 Someśvara's inscriptions are dated A. D. 1170, 1177. J. R., A. S., 1913, pp. 266, 268 footnote 14.

3 Vide post.

4 Kim aṅga ! Jāṅgala-pateḥ sauptika-prastāvopaslokaṁ
anākarṇitavān bhavān ?
yasyādyāpi yaśaḥ śīlīmukha-mukhotkīrṇaiḥ prasasty-akṣa-
raiḥ

svaḥ-strīṇāṁ divi nāyaka-sabhā-stambhena samsmāryate |
sehe so'pī na saptikaṁ vinipated-drauṇsted aty-Arjunaṁ
Dhārāvārṣa tavādya pauruṣaṁ abhūt tīrṇopamānam bhuvi ||
(Here in line 3 the metre is wrong)

(Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. IV. p. 3.) The MSS. of the Limbdi's Pādā mentions the name of the Jāṅgala king as Pṛthvirāja.

5 Vide post.

declared open hostility against its rulers. But its most formidable enemy was the Guhila Śāmantasimha, whose two known dates are A. D. 1172 and 1179.¹ He invaded Gujarat, which appears to have been at that time under the rule of Ajayapāla (1172-1176 A. D.). Ajayapāla sustained a severe defeat and received a serious wound on the battle-field. Someśvara² tells us that his predecessor, Kumāra, having worshipped the god Kātukeśvara, cured Ajayapāla of his wounds. In those perilous hours Dhārāvarṣa adhered faithfully to the Gujarat dynasty, and sent his younger brother, Prahādāna, with a strong force to the assistance of Ajayapāla. The Mount Abu inscription tells us that³ "Prahādāna, whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gurjara king, when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Śāmantasimha, again displayed on earth the behaviour of the greatest enemy of the descendants of Danu."

The Gurjara king, here referred to, was, apparently, Ajayapāla, and Śāmantasimha was, in all probability, the Guhila king of that name. No doubt can be entertained that the timely help of the Paramāras of Abu saved the Caulukya sovereignty on that occasion, from ruin.

DHĀRĀVARṢA'S REVOLT AGAINST THE GUJARAT SOVEREIGNTY.

Ajayapāla and Mūlarāja II did not rule long. During the early years of Bhīma II, as we have often noticed, the Gujarat sovereignty was overcome by a

1 Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, 1914-15, p. 3.

2 Surathotsava, Grantha prāśasti, v. 32.

3 Śāmantasimha-samīti-kṣīti-vikṣataujah śrī- Gūrijara-kṣītipar-rakṣaṇa-dakṣiṇāsīḥ Prahādānas tad-anujo Danuj-ottamāri-cāritram atra punar ujja(jva)layam-cakāra ||

(verse 38.) (E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 211.)

further and worse calamity. Someśvara¹ tells us that the ministers and the feudatories divided among themselves the empire of young Bhīma II. Dhārāvārṣa was apparently one of those who hoisted the standard of revolt. But in that difficult period, Arṇorāja, son of Dhavala, the ruler of Bhīmapallī came to the rescue of the Gujarat sovereign. He pressed heavily upon Dhārāvārṣa and the king of Medapāṭa, and subdued them. The Sukṛtakīrttikallolīnī of Jayasīṃha relates² that Arṇorāja broke down the power of the lords of Medapāṭa (Mewar) and Candrāvattī.

WAR WITH THE MOSLEMS.

The name of Dhārāvārṣa is prominent among those of the heroes who offered strong resistance to the southward movement of the Moslems. In 1178 A. D. when Bhīma II ascended the throne of Anhilwar, Muḥammad of Ghor appeared with his strong force at the northern gate of the Gujarat empire. The Moslem general notwithstanding his strenuous efforts, could not break down the barrier of the Gujarat army, and was forced to retreat. A large number of his soldiers were killed on the battle field, and those who survived suffered extreme hardship on their way back to Ghazna.³ The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* relates⁴ that Shihāb-ud-dīn Muḥammad of Ghor advanced towards Nahrwāla by way of Uch and Multān. Bhīmdeo was a minor, but he had a large army and elephant-force, which wounded

¹ Kīrtikaumudī, Sarga II, v. 61.

² Yat-khaḍga-danḍa-yamun-āmbhasī Medapāṭa-Candrāvattī pura-patī tridivāya magneu (v. 75.)

³ Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 170.

⁴ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 294, cf 9, 230.

the Sultān in the battle and forced him to retreat. The *Tāj-ul Ma'āshir* tells¹ that this battle took place at the foot of Mount Abu. An early authority² gives the name of place as Kāsaharada, the modern village of Kayadram, at the foot of Mount Abu. The Sundha hill inscription³ states that the Cāhamāna Kelhana of Nadula (1161-1194 A. D.) crushed the power of the Turuṣkas. His brother Kīrtipāla (1161-1215 A. D.) is also credited with a victory over the same Turuṣkas,⁴ at Kāsahrada. Dr. Bhandarkar⁵ rightly thinks that the two brothers fought on the same occasion with the Moslem. We may reasonably suppose that they fought this war on behalf of Bhīma II, as the place of battle was apparently the same as that in which Muḥammad of Ghor is reported to have encountered the army of the Caulukyās. Kāsahrada, the modern Kayadram, where the stone inscription of Dhārāvārṣa was found, was within the jurisdiction of his government. Hence it is almost certain that he also participated in this war against the Moslem and saved his principality by forcing Shihāb-ud-dīn to retreat.

In 1192-93 A. D., Ajmer was finally conquered by the Moslems. Two years later, in 1195 A. D., the Anhilwar government sent succour to the Mers in their effort to reconquer Ajmer. In the battle that ensued a large number of Moslems were killed, and their leader Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak was severely wounded. The Hindus advanced and encamped within one 'parsang' from Ajmer. But when all their attempts were frustrated by their

¹ Ibid, p. 230.

² E. I., Vol. IX, p. 77.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid, Vol. XI, p. 71.

enemies, a reinforcement arrived from Ghazni, enabling the Moslems not only to drive back the Mers but also to advance upon Gujarat, from which the provisions were supplied to the Hindu forces for the reconquest of Ajmer. They easily conquered Pālī (Bali) and Naddāl, but to their disappointment, they found that the road to Gujarat was strongly guarded by the united forces of Kelhana and Dhārāvārṇa. The description of this battle is given, with great elaboration of detail, by the Taj-ul Ma'āshir. The writer says¹ that, when in 1197 A.D. Khusrat, (a general under Qutb-ud dīn), "reached the lofty forts of Pālī and Nandāl, he found them abandoned and the abode of owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musulmāns, and had collected under their leaders Rāt Karan and Darābars, in great numbers, at the foot of Mount Abu, and, at the mouth of a pass, stood ready for fight and slaughter. The Musulmāns did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially as in that very place Sultān Muḥammad Sām Ghori had been wounded, and it was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander."

"The Hindus, seeing this hesitation, and misconstruing it into cowardice and alarm, abandoning the pass, turned their faces towards the field of battle and the plain of honour and renown; for they were persuaded that fear had established itself in the hearts of the protectors of the sacred enclosure of religion. The two armies stood face to face for some time, engaged in preparations for fight, and on the night preceding Sunday, the 18th of Rabi'ul awwal, in a fortunate moment, the army of Islām advanced from its camps,

¹ Elliot, History of India, Vol. II, p. 229.

² Ibid, pp. 229-230.

and at morn reached the position of the infidels. A severe action ensued, from dawn to midday, when the army of idolatry and damnation turned its back in flight from the line of battle. Most of their leaders were taken prisoners, and nearly fifty thousand infidels were despatched to hell by the sword, and from the heaps of the slain, the hills and the plains became of one level. Rāt Karan effected his escape from the field."

The Muhammadan historian does not tell us anything about the fate of Dhārāvārṣa. There is no doubt that he played an important part in the struggle, though he shared in the defeat with all the other Hindu forces, on account of their indiscretion in leaving their most favourable strategic position at the mouth of the pass. After this victory the Moslems appear to have left Gujarat in peace for nearly a quarter of a century.

The internal trouble, which had been sapping the foundations of the Caulukya empire since the accession of Bhīma II, reached its culmination in the first quarter of the thirteenth century A. D., when Bhīma II was dethroned by an usurper named Jayasimha. But, about this time, the most prominent figure in Gujarat was Viradhavala, the son of Lavaṇaprasāda, the ruler of Dholka.

This chaotic state of affairs in Gujarat quickly attracted the attention of Sultān Iyāl-Timish (A. D. 1211-1236), and he advanced with an army towards Anhilwar. Viradhavala shouldered the whole responsibility of defending the country in this emergency,¹ and his position was rendered the more critical by a joint attack on the south from the great Yādava Siṅghana and the Paramāra Devapāla. In that predicament, he

¹ Hammira-mada-mardana, Aṅka I, and II, vide ante, chapter VII, p. 216.

appointed his minister Vastupāla to defend the southern frontier and himself set out for Marwar to check the progress of the Moslems." The chiefs of Marudeśa (Marwar), viz. Somasipha, Udayasipha and Dhārāvarṣa, into whose territories the armies of the Moslem general were marching without any let or hindrance, now allied themselves to him with great eagerness, as did Bhīmasipha, the ruler of Saurāṣṭra. The Hammīra-mada-mardana gives the name of the Moslem general as Hammīravīra-Mīlacchikāra, but the Prabandha caturvīṃśati, more correctly, calls him Suratrāṇa Maujadin, which is a contraction of the name of the Sultān Mu'izz ud-dīn Bahrām Shāh, Shams-ud-dīn Iyal-Timish, the ruler of Delhi from A. D. 1210 to 1236.

When Viradhavala was thus rapidly advancing to oppose the Sultān, he was informed that the latter was trying to enter Gujarat from the side of Mount Abu." He at once sent instructions to Dhārāvarṣa to let the enemy pass southward unobstructed and then close the mountain-pass against their return. Dhārāvarṣa acquitted himself of his task very efficiently, and the result was most favourable. The Moslems, to their utter bewilderment, found themselves entrapped in the mountain-pass, hemmed in by Dhārāvarṣa in the rear and Viradhavala in front. They sustained a heavy loss and a large number of their forces lost their lives in the battle.

This war must have happened between A. D. 1229, the date of the beginning of the ministry of Vastupāla

1 Śrī-Somasipha-Udayasipha-Dhārā-
varṣair amibhir Marudeśa-nāthaiḥ ;
dīśo'ṣṭa jetuṃ sphuṭam aṣṭa-bāhus
tribhiḥ sametair-abhavat prabhur naḥ ॥ 8 (Hammīra-
-mada-mardana, Anka II.)

2 Prabandha-caturvīṃśati.

and the composition of the *Hammira-mada-mardana*. The *Tabaqāt -i-Nāṣirī*¹ tells us that in A. D. 1226, Sultan Iyal-Timish sent a general to conquer the fort of Ranthambhor and, in the year following (1227 A. D.) he himself marched against the fort of Manduār (modern Mandor, in the Jodhpur State), within the limits of the Siwālik territory. On this occasion, he probably tried to push his way further south into Marwar, but was severely beaten back by the combined forces of Viradhavala and Dhārāvarṣa.

All these warlike activities, so successfully carried on by Dhārāvarṣa, testify to the enormous strength and resources of his government. He enjoyed a long reign of more than fifty-four years. The dates of his inscriptions range from A. D. 1163 to A. D. 1217. If it is true that Iyal-Timish invaded Marwar in 1227 A. D., as has been suggested above, then his reign must be taken to have ended after that date.

PRAHLĀDANA.

There is no definite evidence to prove that Dhārāvarṣa was succeeded by this younger brother Prahlādana. The *Paṭanarāyaṇa* inscription, issued at the end of the thirteenth century, does not mention his name, and describes Somasimpha as the successor of Dhārāvarṣa. The *Somasaubhāgya*, composed in the latter half of the fifteenth century A. D., describes Prahlādana as the lord of Arbudācala.² The prince was certainly an old man at the time of his accession, if indeed he outlived his brother and succeeded him at all. In his youth he was a good general, and we have already seen how, by his soldierly valour, he saved the Caulukya sovereignty

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 324-325.

² *Op. cit.*, v. 13.

from destruction, when the Guhilas shattered the forces of Ajayapāla. But more than his achievements in war was to be estimated his devotion to learning. The Mount Abu inscription,¹ of the reign of Dhāravarṣa, dated 1209 A. D., describes him as a prince expert in all the fine arts and useful sciences. The Mount Abu inscription, in the temple of Neminātha, dated 1280 A. D., speaks of his high culture and learning. The poet Someśvara, who composed that record, says—"I am not certain whether it is the goddess sprung from the lotus-seats (Brahmā) or the celestial cow, granting (every) wish that has come to earth in the form of Prahlādana."² The same author writes in his Kirtikaumudī³ that Prahlādana, by composing some pleasant stories, again delighted the goddess of learning, who was afflicted with sorrow on the passing away of Bhoja and Muñja. The prince produced a number of literary works. The Śarṅgadhara-paddhati, a collection of elegant extracts, written in the fourteenth century A. D., contains some of his compositions. Jalhana's Sūktimuktāvalī also quotes some of his verses. He composed a vyāyoga or drama in one act,⁴ entitled "Pārtha-parākrama," the

1 saṅg-darśana-avalambana (darśan āvalambana)-stambha
-sakala-kālā-kovid-kumāra-guru-Śrī-Prahlādanadeve
yauvarājye sati ity evaṃ kālē Kedārarāminā nispāditam
idaṃ kīrttanam | (I. A., Vol. XI, p. 222.)

2 Devī sarojāsana-sambhavā kiṃ kāmāpradā kiṃ sura-
-saurabheyī Prahlādanākāra-dharā dharāyām āyātavaty
eṣa na nīścayo me ||

(v. 39.) E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 211, 216.

3 Śrī-Prahlādanadevo'bhūd dvitayena prasiddhimān |
putratvena Sarasavatyāḥ patitvena jaya-śrīyaḥ || 14.
Śrī-Bhoja-Muñja-duḥkḥartā ramyaṃ vartayatā kathām |
Prahlādanena sūhlādā punaś cakre Sarasvatī || 15. sarga I.)

4 Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. IV.

main theme of which is the epic hero Arjuna's exploit of recovering the cows of the king Virāṭa by completely defeating the Kauravas. It was first staged at the court of Dhārāvārṣa, on the occasion of the investiture of the god Acaleśvara with the sacred thread.¹

Prahlādana was also famous for his munificence. Someśvara's *Surathotsava*² relates that philanthropic activities ceased with the death of Prahlādana.

Prahlādanapura, the modern Palanpur, the headquarters of the subdivision of the same name in Gujarat, 54 miles south of Mount Abu, was founded by this prince. He erected there a Jaina temple called Pārthavihāra. The *Upadeśa-taraṅgiṇī* relates a story in connection with the foundation of this temple. One day, Prahlādana, the lord of Arbudācala, melted down a Jaina brass image and made a bull out of the metal for Acaleśvara Mahādeva. In consequence of this act of desecration he was attacked with leprosy, and his kingdom was usurped by his relations. After this, as he was wandering from country to country, he happened to meet with Śiladhavalācārya, and related to him the cause of his distress. The Jaina teacher told him that the only means of his recovery lay in acquiring religious merit by erecting numerous temples and images of the Jaina gods. The prince accordingly, laid the foundation of the temple of Pārthavihāra and enshrined in it a golden image of Pārśvanātha. He often found much delight

1 *Sthāpakāḥ Tan na jāne bhagavataḥ Śrīmad-Acaleśvara-devasya pavitrakāropaṇa-parvaṇi kenāpi rūpakeṇādyā pramodanīyaḥ sabhāśadaḥ |*

Naṭaḥ Ārya ! tad etad atula-parākrama-camatkṛitākṣhila-Bhāratasya Śrī-Dhārāvārṣasya paṇṣadā prahitaṃ patrakam (ibid., pp. 1-2).

2 *Śrī-Prahlādanam antareṇa virataṃ viśvopakāra-vrataṃ | (sarga I, v. 52.)*

in gazing at that god through the window of the shrine. He was soon cured of his disease, and passed the remainder of his life in observing the rules of the Jaina religion. This story is also narrated in the Commentary on the *Hīrasaubhāgya*,¹ but we have now no other evidence of its truth.

The earliest reference to Prahādanapura occurs in the praśasti of the Atimuktacaritra of Pūrṇabhadra, composed in Sam. 1282=1225 A. D.² Vastupāla, when on pilgrimage to Mount Abu, worshipped Pārśvanātha in the Pālhavihāra in Prahādanapura, and installed there an image of Neminātha.

The Samarā Rāsu, a book written about Sam. 1371=1314 A. D., refers to Pālhanapura and Pālhavihāra,³ and the Somasaubhāgya, a work composed at the end of the fifteenth century A. D., praises Prahādana very highly for the foundation of the above city and the temple.⁴

1 Op. cit., Canto I, Verses 69-128.

2 Śrīmat-Prahādana-pura-vare Pūrṇabhadro gaṇiḥ drāk
śiṣyaḥ Śrīmaj-Jīna-pati guroḥ cāru cakre caritram |
cittatācaryam vijaya-tanayasyĀtimuktasya sādhor
dvy-aṣṭārkkābde 1282 diti sura-gurau kārtike pūrṇam-
āsyām ||

3 Vs. 10-11.

4 Prahādana-kṣīti-patir dyupatir mahobhīḥ Śrī-Arbudācala
-vibhuḥ as babhūva pūrvam |
tena svanāma-viditam dita-pāpa-tāpam samsthāpitam
puram idaṁ mudita-prajādhyam || 13
tatraiṣa bhūmi-ramaṇi-ramaṇīya-hāraṁ sphāraṁ vihāraṁ
samaṁ samakārayac ca
svīākhyayā pravara rai-kapi-śīrṣa sara-prākāra-gopura-
mahardhiparārdha-śobham || 14 ||
samyag-dṛṣṭam viracitādbhuta-citta-śaitye caitye phaṇa-
maṇi-nirasta-tamaḥ-samūham |
vighnopasānti-kaṇaṁ śaraṇam śrītāṇam śrī-Pārśva-
bimbam avilambam atīṣṭ(h) paś ca || 15

Thus it appears that Prahādāna lived long in the memory of the people on account of his literary and architectural labours.

SOMASIMHA.

Somasimha, the son of Dhārāvarṣa, succeeded his uncle Prahādāna on the throne in the second quarter of the thirteenth century A. D. Three inscriptions of his reign have been discovered. Two of them are engraved on the wall of the temple of Neminātha on Mount Abu. Their object is to record that in the month of Phālguna, in Sam. 1287 = February 1230 A. D. when Bhīmadeva (II) was on the throne of Anahilapura and Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rājākula Somasimha, son of Dhārāvarṣa, was ruling in Mount Abu, Tejaḥpāla, the minister of Vīradhavaḷa, built in the village of Deulavāḍā, on the top of Mount Abu, this temple of the holy Neminātha, called Lūṇasimhavasahikā. It was erected to increase the religious merit of his wife Anupamadevi and his son Lūṇasimha. It is further stated that the mahārājākula Somasimha made a grant of the village of Ḍavānt, in Vāhirśhadī, for the maintenance of this temple. The trustees for the temple were Somasimha, his son Kṛṣṇa, and many other personages of the Arbuda country.

Of the localities mentioned above, Deulavāḍā is to be identified with the modern village of Dilwara, on Mount Abu.

The third inscription¹ was found at Nana, in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is dated Sam. 1290 = 1233 A. D. It records that, in the reign of Mahārāja-

¹ E. I., Vol. VIII, pp. 208 seq.

² A. S. I., 1907-8, p. 226.

dhirāja-Somasimhadeva, the village of Nānaka was owned by a person who was a favourite of the Yuvarāja Kanhādadeva. Nānaka is evidently the modern village of Nana, where the record was found.

Our knowledge about Somasimha's career is very scanty. He was liberal to the Brahmans, and remitted their taxes.¹ He had a great devotion to learning. He is said to have inherited bravery from his father, learning from his paternal uncle, and liberality from them both.²

KRṢṆARĀJA.

Somasimha was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇarāja, during whose reign Mount Abu seems to have been conquered and annexed for a time to the Guhila kingdom of Mewar. An inscription,³ dated Sam. 1342=1285 A. D., discovered in the wall of a shrine, called the 'maṭha' of 'Pūjari Bābā', to the south of the temple of Acaleśvara, proves that Mount Abu was at that time under the suzerainty of the Guhila Samarasimha. His governor of this newly annexed province seems to have been Jaitrakarna.

PRATĀPASIMHA.

Kṛṣṇarāja's son and successor was Pratāpasimha, who was an intrepid warrior. He probably with the assistance of the Vāghelas of Dholk regained Candravati by overthrowing Jaitrakarna. The Pātanārāyaṇa inscrip-

1 E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 211, v. 41.

2 Dhārāvarṣa-suto 'yam jayati Śrī-Somasimha-devo yaḥ |
pitṛtaḥ śauram vidyām pitṛvyakād dānam ubhayato jagṛhe |

Ibid., v. 40.

3 Prakrit and Sanskrit inscription of Kathywar, p. 84.

tion glorifies him for this brilliant achievement.¹ But, though Pratāpasimha regained his paternal throne, he had by this time lost much of his princely authority, and now became a subordinate of Visaladeva, son of Bhādadeva, a governor of Vāghela Sārāṅgadeva of Anhilwar.

An inscription² of Pratāpasimha's reign has been discovered in the temple of Paṭṇārāyaṇa, near Girwar, about four miles west of Madhusūdana, in the Sirohi State. It records that in the victorious reign of Visaladeva, son of Bhādadeva, when Pratāpasimha was ruling in Candrāvati, Pratāpasimha's minister Delhāṇa, resident of the village of Griviḍa, caused the temple of Paṭṇārāyaṇa to be repaired, between the month of Āśvina, Sam. 1343 and that of Jyestha, Sam. 1344 (=October 1286 and May 1287) The people of the neighbouring villages made the following donation for the maintenance of the temple :—

- (a) One donakāri and a field in the village of Channāra, from Devaḍa Melāka, son of Śobhita.
- (b) A dhīmaḍa in the village of Khīmāuli from Rājaputra Virapāla, son of Vihala.
- (c) Eight seers of corn from each arahatṭa and two seers from each dhīmaḍu and one seer of grain from each plough in the village of Kālhanavāḍa, and from the villagers of Auli.

1 Pradyumna-kalpo 'jani yena sa Śrī-Pratāpasimho'ri-
karīṃdra-simhaḥ || 17 |

Kāmaṇ pramathya samare jagad-ekavīras tam Jaitrakarṇ-
ṇam iha Karṇṇam ive'ṃdra-sunuh |
Candrāvatiṃ para-kulodadhi-dūra-magnām urvvīm varāha
iva yaḥ sahasoddadhāra || 18

(I. A., Vol. XLV, p. 78).

2 ibid, p. 77.

- (d) Ten drammas from each of these villages, from Nudimala, son of Guhila.
- (e) The revenue of the Golapikā, in the village of Maḍāuli, for twelve ekādaśis, and the export duty of Candrāvati, from the Rājaputra Gāṅgā (Gāngu) and Karmasimha.

The inscription attributes the installation there of this god Pattaṇārāyaṇa to the epic hero Rāma. He is said to have established the god Śuddheśvaradeva near Abu, after having proved Sītā's purity by means of the fire-ordeal.

About this time, the Cāhamānas of Raṇastambhapura led an expedition against Mount Abu, in the course of their southern march. Their great king, Hammīra (1283-1301 A. D.), launched a series of campaigns against the neighbouring Hindu chiefs. The Hammīra-mahākāvya relates that¹ the king, in the course of his 'digvijaya', ravaged the country of Mewar and reached Mount Abu, whose ruler, although he was famous for his military skill, submitted to him. He halted for some time on Mount Abu, worshipped in the temple of Rṣabhadeva, and, having bathed in the holy Mandākinī, paid his devotion to Acaleśvara. The Abu king, here referred to, may have been Pratāpasimha. He probably did not long survive this event, and died apparently without male issue.

Viśala, the Viceroy of the Vāghelās over the northern part of the Gujarat empire, then brought Mount Abu under his direct control, and made Candrāvati his capital. An inscription² from Abu, dated Sam. 1350 = 1293 A. D., relates that Viśala governed eighteen

¹ I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 64.

² Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI, p. 311.

hundred maṇḍalas from his residence at Candrāvati, under the suzerainty of Śaraṅgadeva of Anahilapura.

But the province did not long remain under the sway of the Vāghelās, whose authority became totally extinct at the close of the thirteenth century. In 1297 A. D., Alaf Khān, the brother of the Sultan Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī, wrested Gujarat from Karna, the successor of Śaraṅgadeva, and established there the supremacy of the Moslems.¹ During this period of unrest, the Cāhamānas of Nadol took possession of Mount Abu and incorporated the province into their territory. The Mount Abu inscription² of the Cāhamāna Luṅṭigadeva, dated Sam. 1377 = 1320 A. D., relates that the king conquered Candrāvati, and ruled over the territory of Arbuda.

Thus we find that the Paramāra family at Candrāvati lost its political power about the same time as the imperial house at Dhārā. A short review of this chapter will show that, though this junior branch of rulers owed their territory and throne to the main family at Dhārā, they subsequently severed all political relations with it, under adverse circumstances. The resources of their government were not such as to enable them to maintain their independence against foreign invasions, and thus, when the government of Malwa suffered a temporary degeneration after the death of Bhoja, the Abu princes had no other alternative but to submit to the mighty force of the Caulukya Bhīma. Henceforward, they always kept up friendly relations with the Gujarat dynasty by acknowledging its supreme authority. They helped its rulers on many occasions with strong military forces, and on more than one

¹ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 205.

² Dvyāśraya, 16th sarga, v. 38, p. 287.

occasion saved it from complete destruction. They were the gate-keepers of the Gujarat empire, and successfully defended their position from the onslaught of the foreigners. One most noticeable feature of their long career is that they are never found to have assisted the Caulukyās in their protracted war with the Paramāras of Malwa. Holding a subordinate position and ruling over a small territory, they yet figured very prominently in the political arena of this period, and deserve credit for their magnificent achievements. The main cause of their downfall was the invasion of the Guhilas of Mewar and the Cāhamānas of Ranastambhapura, who gave a fatal blow to their governmental power.

THE SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY.

A brief note will be made below of the social, religious and architectural history of Mount Abu under the rule of these Paramāra princes.

Mount Abu lies in 24°36' N. and 72°43' E., seventeen miles north-west of Abu station, on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. It is 4,000 feet above sea-level, and its summit is crowned with a plateau about 12 miles long and about 3 miles broad, and is rendered very charming by its admirable scenery. The rivers Banas and Mandakini pass through it, and the Nakhi Talao (lake), half a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad, adds greatly to the beauty of the place. Hemacandra, who was a contemporary of Yaśodhavala and Dhārāvārṣa, tells us that the Arbuda country, over which the Paramāras ruled, contained eighteen hundred villages, but of these

we know only the following from the contemporary records hitherto discovered :

NAME OF VILLAGE	MODERN EQUIVALENT
(1) Roheda	
(2) Vihala	
(3) Bhundipadra ...	... Bharund
(4) Phulahali	
(5) Vāsana	
(6) Savaḍavṛddha	
(7) Ājāhari ...	... Ajari
(8) Sahilavāḍa ...	... Selwara, 8½ miles W. N. W. of Dilwara.
(9) Kumbhāranuli	
(10) Māgavādī	
(11) Hāthadālī ...	... Hathar.
(12) Kurikābhukti	
(13) Grividā ...	... Girwar.
(14) Chanāra	
(15) Khimāulī	
(16) Āulī	
(17) Kanakhala	
(18) Deulavāḍa ...	... Delwara.
(19) Davānī in Vāhirahadi	
(20) Śrīmātāmahabu	
(21) Ābuya ...	... Abu, 1½ miles S. W. of Dilwara.
(22) Orasā ...	... Oris, 3 miles N. E. of Dilwara.
(23) Ūttāracha Utraj, 5½ miles N. E. of Dilwara.
(24) Sihara Sera, 8 miles N. E. of Dilwara.
(25) Sāla Salgaon, 1 mile E. S. E. of Dilwara.

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NAME OF VILLAGE		MODERN EQUIVALENT
(26) Heṭhauñji Hetamji, 2 miles S. of Dilwara.
(27) Ākhī		
(28) Koṭaḍī	...	... Kotra, 7 miles E. of Dilwara.
(29) Bhālibhāḍā		
(30) Umbaraṇikī	...	... Umarni, 7 miles S. S. W. of Dilwara.
(31) Sarauli		
(32) Kāsahraḍa	...	... Kayadra.
(33) Dhauli	...	... Dhauli, 8½ miles W. S. W. of Dilwara.
(34) Muṇḍasthala	...	... Murthala, 8½ miles S. S. E. of Dilwara.
(35) Phīlini		
(36) Hauḍāudrā		
(37) Gaḍāhaḍa	...	... Gadara, 11 miles S. S. W. of Dilwara.
(38) Maḍāuli		
(39) Kālhanavāḍā		
(40) Khīmāuli		

Of the cities or towns the following are known to us :

- (1) Candrāvati
- (2) Prahlādanapura
- (3) Vātapura

The residents of all these villages followed either the Hindu or the Jaina religion. The Brahmans were divided into various Gotras, some of which were—

Ātreya,
Kāśyapa,
Śaṇḍilya,
Garga, etc.,¹

and a section known as "Gūguli".¹ Of the Kṣatriya and the other castes, the following families are known :—

- (a) Hāthundi of the Rāthor tribe.²
- (b) Devaḍa—a branch of the Cāhamānas.³
- (c) Prāgvāta,
- (c) Ūsavalās or Oisavālas,
- (e) Śrīmālas.
- (f) Dharkatas.
- (g) Pratihāra Rajputs.⁴

The Bhīls, who were aboriginals, formed an important section of the population.⁵ Their chief occupations were the cultivation of the soil, painting and gambling,⁶ and they sometimes acted as guides in the hilly tracts.

In every village there were fields for cultivation and pasturelands for grazing cattle.⁷ Barley and rice were the chief crops of the fields.⁸ The country possessed a large number of beautiful forests.⁹ There were mines yielding various kinds of mineral products, the chief of which were jewels and precious stones.¹⁰ The drama was one of the coins in their currency system.¹¹

The people were rich and healthy. The country was seldom visited by famine, and there were few diseases among the population. The climate was cold, and the people wore lions' skins¹² against its rigour. They

¹ E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 206.

² I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.

³ Ibid., Vol. XLV, p. 77.

⁴ E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 206.

⁵ Dvyāśraya, 16th sarga.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ I. A., Vol. XLIII, p. 193.

⁸ Dvyāśraya, 16th sarga, v. 60.

⁹ Ibid., v. 54, p. 299.

¹⁰ Ibid., v. 53.

¹¹ I. A., Vol. XLV, p. 80.

¹² Dvyāśraya, 16th sarga, vs. 51-52.

enjoyed a very happy existence. Sometimes they undertook corporate work for the welfare of the villagers. A number of the inhabitants of the village of Bhundipadra united in contributing various sums of money for the construction of a step-well, with the object of providing pure drinking water for the people of the locality. The donors are described as realising that one can remain alive even for a month without food, but that without water none can survive even for a day and a night.¹

The Paramāra princes were assisted in the administration of the country by their ministers. The Talāras were executive officers, whose duty was to maintain peace and order in the villages.²

In the middle of the twelfth century A. D., the annual income of the government was one lakh of coins, out of which the tributes to the Caulukya sovereigns of Gujarat³ had to be paid.

RELIGION.

During this period, both Brahmanism and Jainism flourished vigorously in this country. The people believed that Mount Abu had been enjoying the honour of being a great place of pilgrimage from the time of the Vedas. It was regarded as an abode of the Vedic ṛṣis Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra.

BRAHMANISM.

The followers of the Brahmanical religion were devout worshippers of Śiva and the Sun (Bhānu).

¹ J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 76.

² I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 12.

³ Dvyāśraya, 16th sarga, v. 62, p. 303.

Bhattachāraka Visala Udradamaka¹ was once the Acārya of Śivadharma. Vaṭapura was a prosperous town, inhabited by a large number of musicians, heroes and warriors.² Here all the inhabitants, together with the Brahmans, were devotees of Bhānu.³ The people worshipped Śiva under various names—viz Koteśvara, Atulanātha, Kanakhalanātha, Śūlapāṇi, Kanakhala Sambhu⁴ and Kāśeśvara.⁵ The Gods Nārāyaṇa, Varuṇa, Gaṇeśa and the Goddess Sarasvatī were also invoked and worshipped.⁶ Special reverence was shown to Brahmans and cows. It was generally believed that any act of piety done to them opened to one the gate of Heaven, while, (*per contra*), to kill a Brahman was considered the most heinous of crimes. In the forest Sindhukā and other Devis were believed to have dwelt. People from foreign countries assembled there every year to celebrate Śrī-Mātā's festival.⁷ The government spent a vast sum of money annually on the celebration of Śrī Devī's festival.⁸

JAINISM.

Jainism seems to have found a strong footing in Mount Abu from the beginning of the eleventh century A. D., when Vimala, a devout follower of Arhat, obtained for a short period the viceroyalty of the province. The

¹ I. A., Vol. XLIII, p. 193.

² E. I., Vol. IX, p. 15, v. 24.

³ Ibid.

⁴ I. A., Vol. XI, p. 222.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. LVI, p. 51.

⁶ J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXLII, p. 75 ; I. A., Vol. XLIII, p. 193 ; Vol. XLV, p. 79.

⁷ Dvyāśraya, 16th sarga, v. 54.

⁸ Ibid.

Upadeśataranginī relates that the prince Prahādāna became in the latter part of his life a convert to the Jaina faith. His nephew Somasimha showed his liberality to the Jainas by granting a village for the maintenance of the temple of Neminātha. The Jainas worshipped there Ādinātha, Neminātha, Rṣabhadeva, Śāntinātha and Aranātha.¹

In later periods, the purity of Mount Abu seems to have been tainted by the penetration of some evil elements. The great poet Someśvara describes it as an abode of vice and virtue. He says :—² There is this Arbuda, the peak of a range of mountain, the son of the mountain that is the father-in-law of the husband of Gaurī, who, carrying the Mandākinī on his top plaited round with clouds, personates the moon-bearer (whose) brother-in-law (he is), (as the latter carries the Gaṅgā on his head covered with thick braids.)

“In one place on this (mountain) love enters even him who strives after deliverances, when he beholds the lovely women enjoying themselves; in the another even the mind of a frivolous man becomes indifferent to the world, when he sees the line of sanctuaries to be visited by ascetics”

Both the Hindus and the Jainas recorded their devotion to their respective faiths by laying the foundation of numerous magnificent temples. Deuka, Nāga,³ Dhāreśvara, Deūa, Lahampaśra,⁴ Pālhaṇa,⁵ Cāḍadeva⁶ and Candreśvara⁷ were among the architects of this

¹ Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI, p. 312.

² E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 215.

³ Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 12.

⁴ J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 77.

⁵ I. A., Vol. XI, p. 222.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. LVI, p. 12.

⁷ E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 219.

period. There were the temples of Vasiṣṭha and Acaleśvara Mahādeva.¹ In Vāṭanagara Lāhinī Devī, the sister of Pūrṇapāla, repaired an ancient temple of the sun, and founded a tank close to it.² In 1209 A. D. Kedararāsi, a resident of Ujjain, built two large temples of Śūlapāṇi and renovated the temples of Koteśvara and Atulanātha, in the holy place of Kanakhala. He also paved the interior of that place of pilgrimage with large stone slabs and surrounded it with high walls.³ A row of pillars of black stone was erected by him in the maṇḍapa of the temple of Kanakhala Śambhu. His sister Mokṣeśvarī also built there a temple of Śiva. The temple of Paṭṭanārāyaṇa, near Girwar, which was restored by the minister Delhāṇa, seems to have been a work of that period.

The Jainas mostly limited their architectural activities to Dilwara on Mount Abu. They built there many fanes, two of which deserve our special attention. Both of them are constructed of white marble, and their chief characteristic lies in their domes, which introduced a new style into ancient Indian architecture.

The first was built by Vimala, a viceroy of the Caulukya Bhīma I, in 1031 A. D.⁴ In the centre of its courtyard there is a cross legged image of Rāṣabhanātha or Ādinātha in a cell which terminates in a pyramidal roof. In front of this is a maṇḍapa, which is faced by a large portico, surmounted by a dome resting on eight pillars. All of them are enclosed in a courtyard, 128 ft. by 75 ft. inside, surrounded by a double clonnade of smaller pillars, forming porticoes to a range of cells,

1 Dvyāśraya, 16th sarga, v. 49.

2 E. I., Vol. IX, p. 12.

3 I. A., Vol. XI, pp. 221-222.

4 E. I., Vol. IX, pp. 155 seq.

fifty-two in number.¹ Each cell contains a cross-legged image of Jina. The entrance to the courtyard is through a domed portico, supported by six pillars, in front of which is a square building. Inside this square building are ten statues of human figures representing Vimala and his family, mounted on an equal number of elephants.

The style of the second temple, built, in 1230 A. D.² by Tejahpāla, a minister of Vāghelā Vīradhavalā, is similar to that of the preceding one, but with divergences of detail. Here Tejahpāla's family stands just behind the shrine, in the courtyard, separated from the rest by a pierced screen of open tracery. The Mount Abu inscription relates that³ "the minister Tejahpāla, a moon on earth, erected the temple of the lord Nemi, which shines by lines of stones as white as conch-shells, (and) is resplendent like moon and jasmine flower, a lofty hall (mandapa) in front (of it), fifty-two shrines for the best of the Jinās on the sides of it, and a seat (balānaka) in the front."

Externally, both the temples are very simple in form but, in the interior, the pillars and the dome are lavishly adorned with decorative designs. In the centre of the dome there is a pendant of superb excellence, at the base of which, on brackets round the circumference, stand sixteen four-armed female figures of Vidyādevī (the goddess of knowledge). The roofs of the corridor also are beautified with graceful floral designs. Mr. Fergusson remarks that⁴ "the whole is in white

¹ The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, by Fergusson, Vol. II, p. 38.

² E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 218.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, p. 41.

marble, and finished with a delicacy of detail and appropriateness of ornament which is probably unsurpassed by any similar example to be found anywhere else. Those introduced by the Gothic architects in Henry VII's chapel at Westminster, or at Oxford, are coarse and clumsy in comparison."

Candrāvati, the capital of the Paramāra princes, was a city of great importance. It is bounded on the east by the hills, on the south by the river Sivalan, and on the north-west by the river Banas. In ancient times the city contained innumerable temples of great magnificence but they are now in complete ruins. Scores of mounds of bricks, that formed the foundations of these old temples, and fragments of marble and stone are found all over its ancient site. An old Brahmanic temple still stands there in a comparatively perfect state of preservation. It is built entirely of white marble, and is one of the best specimens of Brahmanic architecture. It is profusely decorated, and its designs are graceful. It contains one hundred and thirty-eight images, the smallest being placed in niches. The principal figures are a three-headed statue, with a female seated on his knee, sitting in a car with a large goose in front; Śiva with twenty arms; Bhairava with twenty arms, one holding a human head by the hair; a victim lying dead, with a nymph on each side, one of whom appears to be drinking the blood falling from the head; dancing nymphs with garlands and musical instruments.¹

The prince Prahādāna also founded a temple of Jina Pārśvanātha in Palanpur.²

¹ Archaeological Survey of Western India, Burgess and Cousens, Vol. IX, pp 96 ff.

² Vide ante, p. 319.

Our information regarding the literary activities of the people of Mount Abu during the period under review is scanty. Hemacandra relates that Mount Abu was a centre of Sanskrit learning to which scholars from different parts of India came for study.¹ Prince Prahlādana, as we have already said, was a great poet, and wrote a drama entitled "Pārtha-parākrama."

¹ Dvyāśraya, 16th sarga, v. 75.

CHAPTER X.

THE PARAMĀRAS OF VĀGAḌA, BHINMAL, AND JALOR.

VĀGAḌA BRANCH.

The modern states of Banswara and Dungarpur lie on the southern border of Rajputana. In ancient times both these territories went by the common name of Vāgaḍa,¹ and were ruled over for a long time by a junior branch of the Paramāras, who held the country as feudatories of the imperial house of Dhārā. The modern village of Arthuna, about 28 miles west of Banswara, contains the ruins of an old and extensive city. There are also remains of about a dozen Hindu and Jaina temples. According to local tradition, the place was anciently known as Amarāvati. It appears to have been the head-quarters of the province during the rule of the Paramāras. The Paramāra princes of Vāgaḍa were descendants of Ḍambarasiṃha, the younger son of Upendra-Kṛṣṇarāja.²

The earliest known ruler of the family is Dhanika,³ who flourished in the middle of the tenth century A. D., and built the temple of Dhaneśvara near Mahākāla, in Ujjain.⁴ His successor was Cacca, also known as Kakka or Kaṅka,⁵ a contemporary of Siyaka-Harṣa of Malwa (948-972 A. D.). Cacca was a brave warrior. He accompanied the armies of Siyaka in their march against the

1 Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XI, p. 380.

2 E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 304.

3 Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 47.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 296.

Rāstrakūṭa Khottiga of Mānyakheta. In the battle, which took place at Khalighaṭṭa, on the bank of the Narmada, Cacca showed his wonderful valour, and died fighting bravely. The Arthuna inscription, while recording his princely qualities, relates that: "Mounted upon his elephant's back, on every side with showers of arrows shattering the host of the lord of Karṇāṭa upon the banks of the Narmadā, slaying thus the foes of the blest king Śrīharṣa, the lord of Mālava, he went to heaven, a valiant warrior, worshipping with the lotuses of the eyes of the ladies of the Gods."

The Panhera inscription¹ gives us the same information, and adds to it the name of the place, Khalighaṭṭa on the Narmada, where the battle was fought. Khalighaṭṭa still retains its ancient name. It is a ford on the Narmada.

Cacca was succeeded by Caṇḍapa, who was followed by Satyarāja. Satyarāja was a contemporary of the great Bhoja of Dhārā, and fought on his behalf against the Caulukyās of Gujarat.² The Panhera inscription³ records his victory over the Gurjaras and he is said to have received fortune from Bhoja. It may be that he took a prominent part in sacking Anhilwar with Kulacandra, the general of Bhoja. He married a Cāhamāna princess named Rājāśrī,⁴ and had two sons, Limbarāja and Maṇḍana or Maṇḍalika, of whom the former succeeded

1 *Ārūḍho gaja-prsthā vāhuta (śhata?) -sa (śa) r-śśarai raṇe sarvataḥ Karṇāṭādhīpater vva(bba) laṃ vidalayams tan Narmadāyās taṭe Śrī-Śrīharṣa-nṛpasya Mālava-pateḥ kṛtvā tathārikṣayam yaḥ svarggam subhaṭo yayau sura-vadhū-netrotpalair arccitaḥ* II v. 19. (E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 299).

2 Ibid, Vol. XXI, p. 42.

3 Ibid., p. 47.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

him on the throne, to be followed later by Maṇḍalika, who was a feudatory of the king Jayasimha of Malwa (1055=1059 A. D.). An inscription¹ of his reign, now unfortunately broken in pieces, has been found engraved on a slab, built into the wall of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara Mahādeva, at Panhera in the Banswara State. It is dated V. S. 1116=1059 A. D., and relates that the prince erected a temple of Śiva, known as Maṇḍaleśvara at Pāsulākheta, and granted some lands in the villages of Nattapāṭaka, Pānāchi, and Maṇḍaladraha for its maintenance. It is obvious that Pāsulākheta was the ancient name of the modern Panhera, and the temple in which the stone was discovered is the same as that erected by the prince. Nattapāṭaka is to be identified with Natawara, Pānāchi with Panasi, and Maṇḍaladraha with Madalda, all situated in the neighbourhood of Panhera.

The Arthuna inscription devotes as many as twenty verses to the commemoration of Maṇḍalika's princely qualities.² But nothing in particular can be gleaned from them. Verse 30 narrates that he increased his fortune by baffling the hostile action of his enemy. That he was a great warrior admits of no doubt. The Panhera inscription³ records that he captured in battle the commander Kanha, together with all his horses and elephants, and handed them over to Jayasimha. The King on whose behalf Kanha fought this battle can not be identified.

Maṇḍalika was famous for his liberality. He built a town and adorned it with white houses and gardens ;⁴

¹ E. I., Vol. XXI, p. 47.

² Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 305—307.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 48.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 310.

he also established the following imposts for the maintenance of the temple of the god ' Maṇḍaleśvara near Arthuna.

"On every 'bharaka' of cocoanuts, one fruit ; on each 'mūṭaka' of salt, a 'mānaka'; from every thousand arecanuts, one nut ; on every ghaṭaka of butter and sesam oil, one palikā.

On each koṭikā of clothing fabric were assigned one and a half rūpakas ; on a jāla, two pūlakas.

For each house of the traders in the local bazaar was assigned by him a drama on the Caitra festival and on the festival of the sacred thread.

On the shops of the braziers was likewise imposed a drama for the month, on (each) vumvaka of the distillers four rūpakas.

On every house of the whole population a drama, on the gambling (house) two rūpakas.

On each lagaḍā were assigned two santas, on each karṣa of oil a pāṇaka ; on each load of cattle-fodder a vṛṣa-vimśopaka.

A drama on each traders' association.

On a pile of sugar a drama, on a water-wheel a hāraka of barley.

On a clear twenty (packs) of loaded grain one bharaka, and on a bharaka (of the same) one chaṅga.

One citron from each lagaḍā, and the vāpa from a mūṭaka of barley, and likewise on ātavika."

Maṇḍalika was succeeded by his son Cāmuṇḍarāja. Four inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

The first¹ was found on the right side of the śikhara' of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara Mahādeva, about a mile to the east of Arthuna. Its object is to record that, in

¹ E. I., Vol. XIV, pp. 309-10.

² Ibid., Vol XIV, p 295.

Sam 1136=1079 A. D., Cāmunḍarāja repaired the temple of Maṇḍaleśa. He confirmed the arrangement made by his father for the maintenance of the temple, and himself added to it the following impost :¹

“On each bharaka of candied sugar and jaggery belonging to the traders, one varnikā ; on each bharaka of Bengal madder, thread, and cotton, one rūpaka.”

This inscription was composed by Candra, younger brother of Vijaya-Sādhāra, the son of the poet Sumati-Sādhāra, a member of the Sādhāra family. It was written by Āśarāja, son of the junior Śrīdhara of the Kāyastha race.

The second inscription² was discovered in a ruined temple of Śiva at Arthuna. Asadeva, Bhavyasarāja and Anantapāla were three brothers. Anantapāla built a temple of Śiva, in V. S. 1137=1080 A. D. during the reign of Cāmunḍarāja, and this temple was apparently the same as that in which the record was discovered.

The third inscription³ is much defaced, and was found in a Jaina temple at Arthuna. It contains the name of this prince, and is dated Sam. 1157=1100 A. D.

The fourth inscription⁴ is now in the Ajmer Museum, and does not contain any date.

Cāmunḍarāja attained mastery in the art of war, and is said to have fought many battles with his enemies. The Arthuna inscription⁵ relates that he crushed the power of Sindhurāja in battle. Sindhurāja was probably the king of Sindh. Cāmunḍarāja was a great devotee of

¹ E. I., Vol. XIV, p 309.

² Progress Report of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, 1915, p 35, unpublished.

³ Ibid., unpublished.

⁴ Unpublished.

⁵ V. 55.

Śiva, and dispensed bounties to the Brahmans. He was succeeded by his son Vijayarāja.

Two inscriptions of Vijayarāja's reign are known to us. The first¹ is dated Sam. 1165=1108 A. D., and records the installation of the image of Hanumāna, on the pedestal of which it is found engraved. The second inscription was issued one year later, in Sam. 1165=1109 A. D.²

After the reign of Vijayarāja, we do not know anything about the history of his family. It appears to have ruled over its territory up to the sixth decade of the twelfth century A. D.

In 1145 A. D., Malwa was conquered by the Caulukyas of Gujarat, and was ruled by them till 1174 A. D. With the decline of the power of the house at Dhārā, about this time, the Vāgaḍa branch seems to have lost its political supremacy. Taking advantage of its helplessness, the Guhilas of Mewar invaded the country and annexed it to their own kingdom. Mātā Nensi relates that the Guhila Śāmantasimha (1172-1179 A. D.), having established his supremacy in Vāgaḍa, brought all the surrounding territory under his control. An inscription³ of Śāmantasimha's reign, dated V. S. 1236=1179 A. D., confirms this fact. His descendant, Sihaḍa (1220-1234 A. D.), issued an inscription from Vāgaḍavatāpadraka.⁴

The war between Siyaka II of Malwa and the Rāṣṭra-kūṭa Khottiga took place in 970-971 A. D. The prince

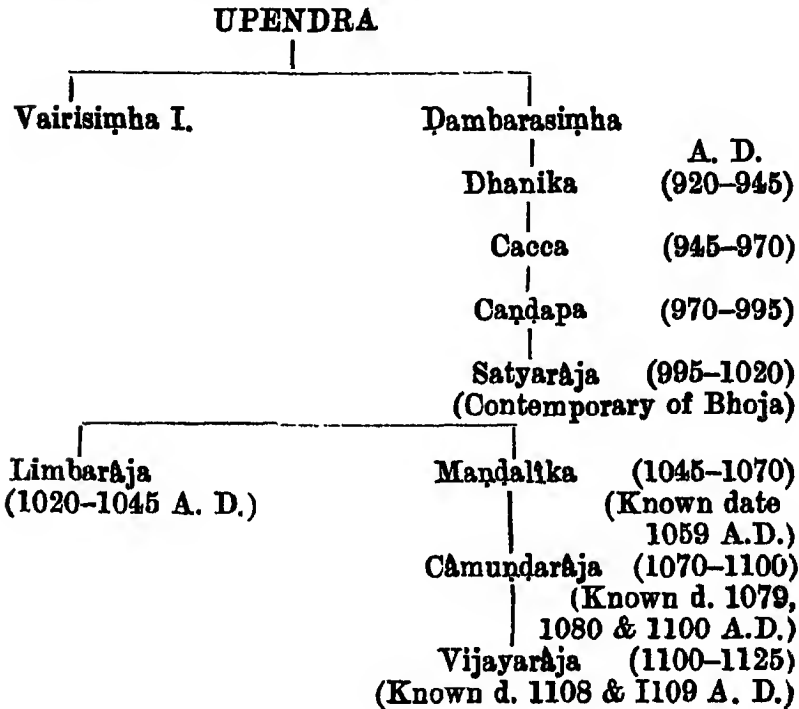
¹ Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, 1918, p. 2. unpublished.

² A. S. I., 1908-9, p. 118, unpublished.

³ Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1915, p. 35.

⁴ Ibid., p. 36; I. A., Vol. LIII, p. 102, footnote.

Cacca died in this battle. Taking 970 A. D. as the beginning of Candapa's reign, if a period of twenty-five years is allotted to each generation, the genealogy of the Vagaḍa line runs as follows :



JALOR BRANCH.

Our knowledge about the Paramāras of Jalor is also very scanty. Candana, the son of Vākpatirāja, is the first prince of this branch. He was followed by Devarāja, Aparājita, Vijjala, Dhāravarṣa and Visala. An inscription¹ of Visala's reign has been discovered in the wall of a building called "Topkhana", at Jalor. The record was issued in Sarp. 1174-1117 A. D., on the occasion

¹ I. A., Vol. LXII, p. 41 ; Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1909, p. 54.

of the installation of a golden jar in the temple of Sindhurājesvara by Malaradevi, queen of Visala. Nothing is known about the successors of Visala.

The dynasty was overthrown by the Cāhamānas of Nadol in the latter part of the 12th century A. D. Mātā Nensi relates that the Cāhamāna Kīrtipāla, younger brother of the king Kelhana (1164-1192 A. D.), wrested Jābālipura (Jalor) from the Paramāras. After this conquest, the seat of the Cāhamāna government was transferred from Nadol to Jalor.

Assuming 1117 A. D. as the year of the accession of Visala, if a reign of twenty-five years is allotted to each generation, the genealogy of the Jalor branch stands thus :

VĀKPATIRĀJA	A. D. (972-997)
Candana	(992 „)
Devarāja	(1017 „)
Aparājita	(1042 „)
Vijjala	(1067 „)
Dhārāvarṣa	(1092 „)
Visala	(1117-1142)

BHINMAL BRANCH.

The Bhinmal branch of the Paramāras played a considerable part in the history of this period. The princes of this family designated themselves the rulers of Marumaṇḍala.¹ Their territory extended up to Balmer, in the Jodhpur State, on the west, and their capital was

¹ Kiradu inscription—unpublished.

at Śrīmāla, the modern Bhinmal, in Jodhpur State, one hundred miles south-west of Jodhpur itself.

Our main source of material for building up the short history of this family is the mutilated Kiradu inscription.¹

As has been remarked above,² Sindhurāja's son Dūsala obtained his territory of Marumaṇḍala from his uncle Vākpatirāja, in the latter part of the tenth century A. D. After one reference to this prince, a few lines in the Kiradu inscription are illegible, as they are totally broken. Next we come across the name of the prince Devarāja. An inscription³ of his reign has been discovered. It is dated Sam. 1059 = 1002 A. D., and was issued when the king was residing at Śrīmāla (i. e. Bhinmal).

Devārāja seems to have established friendly relation with the Cāhamānas of Śākambhari after the defeat of the Mālava king Sindhurāja by the Caulukya Cāmuṇḍarāja.⁴ His inscription relates that he pleased one Durlabharāja by his military achievement. Durlabha was, in all probability, the Cāhamāna king of the same name, the younger brother of Vighararāja, who ruled in the latter part of the tenth century A. D.

After the mention of Devarāja, some lines in the Kiradu inscription are again found broken. I think we miss in them the name of Dharmdhuka. Next comes Kṛṣṇarāja. Two inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

¹ Kiradu inscription.

² Vide ante, p. 23.

³ Śrīmālāvasthita-maharājādhirāja-Śrī-Devarāja

(unpublished).

⁴ Vide ante p. 79.

The first is found on a pillar of a rest-house, east of the temple of Baraji, in the town of Bhinmal.¹ It was issued in Sam. 1117 = 1060 A. D., when Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Kṛṣṇarāja, son of Dhamdhuka, grandson of Devarāja of the Paramāra race, was ruling at Śrīmāla. Its object is to register the fact that five personages, viz. Kirināditya (Kiraṇāditya ?) and Vāṇi Dhamdhaka, sons of Jela of the Dharkuṭa family, Dada Hari, son of Mādhava, Dhamdhanaka, son of Dharapacanda and Dharanāditya, son of Sarvadeva of the Thākhaṭa race, undertook the work of repairing the temple of the Sun-god named Jagatsvāmi. After the completion of the work, a Brahman named Jeḷāka made at his own cost a golden jar and placed it on the temple. The king Kṛṣṇarāja, in order to meet the expenses of the temple ordered that a certain village in Śrī '.....purtyā-maṇḍala should pay to it yearly 20 drammas. He also granted for the same purpose a plot of land and a drona from his store (of the crops) in the village of Sacaliyā. The grant was executed by Candana.

The second inscription,² dated Sam. 1123 = 1066 A. D., was found on a pillar of the temple of Jagsvāmi at Bhinmal. It also mentions the name of Kṛṣṇarāja as ruling in Śrīmāla, and designates him as mahārājādhirāja. It registers the names of a number of servants of the officers of religion in the service of the God Candīśa Mahādeva, and records the gift of a certain number of drammas by the Brahmans Guḡa and Vāhaṭa in favour of the above deity.

The decline of the power of the Paramāra government at Dhārā in the sixth decade of the eleventh century

1 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 472.

2 A portion of the name of the province is missing.

3 Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 473.

left the Caulukya Bhīma free to ravage its collateral branches in Marwar and Abu. Kṛṣṇarāja's military strength was too insignificant to check the onward march of the Caulukyās. He fell a captive into the hands of Bhīma and was thrown into prison. In this terrible calamity he obtained his release through the help of the Cāhamānas of Nadol. In the Sundha hill inscription¹ king Bālaprasāda, the successor of Anahilla, is stated to have forced Bhīma to release Kṛṣṇadeva. Bhīma closed his reign in 1063 A. D. The Bhinmal inscription, dated 1066 A. D., referred to above, proves that Kṛṣṇarāja after his release regained his throne and ruled his territory as an independent monarch. He was followed by Socchirāja, Udayarāja and Someśvara.

The Kiradu inscription,² dated Sam. 1218=1161 A. D., was issued during the reign of the last-mentioned prince.

In the middle of the twelfth century A. D., the Cāhamānas of Nadol seem to have wrested from him the territory of Kiradu, with the assistance of the Caulukya Kumārapāla. The Cāhamāna Alhaṇa, a feudatory of the Caulukyās, issued an inscription, dated Sam. 1209=1152 A. D., from Kiradu.³

Kumārapāla's victory over the Ajmer king Arjorāja brought a period of great prosperity to the Gujarat empire. But Vigharāja (1153-1164 A. D.), the successor of Arjorāja, a powerful military leader, invaded

1 Jajñe bhūbhṛt tad anu tanayas tasya Vā (Bā) laprasādo
Bhīma

—kṣmābhṛc-carāṇa-yugalf-marddana-vyājato yaḥ
kurvan piḍām ativa (ba) latayā mocayāmāsa kārā-
gārād bhūmipatim api tathā Kṛṣṇadevaḥbhidhānam ¶ v. 18,
(E. I. Vol. IX. p. 76)

2 Unpublished.

3 E. I., Vol. XI. p. 43,

the territory of the Caulukyās, and is said to have converted Naddōla (Nadol) into a naḍavāla (i. e. bed of reeds) and Jāvālipura (Jalor) into Jvālāpura (i. e. a city of flame).¹ He also reduced many small villages of his enemy to hamlets.²

Someśvara probably took advantage of this disturbed condition of things in Marwar to regain his ancestral territory of Kiradu, with the assistance of the Cāhamānas of Ajmer.

Someśvara appears to have been succeeded by Jayatastha. An inscription of Jayatastha's (Jayata-simha's) reign³ has been discovered on a pillar in the temple of Jagavāmi, at Bhinmal. It records that, in Sam. 1239, Āsvina, = 1182 A. D., October, in the victorious reign of the Mahārājaputra Jayatastha, at Śrīmāla, a certain person, viz. Aravasāka Vahiyaṇa, the Guhila, son of Pramahidā, gave to Vālākadeva one dramma in cash.

The Rajput bard describes jaitṣī as a Paramāra, ruling in Abu.⁴ He is also mentioned as a contemporary of the Caulukya Bhīma II (1178-1239 A. D.) and the Cāhamāna Prthvirāja III, son of Someśvara, the king of Ajmer (1179-1193 A. D.). It is evidently an error on the part of the bard to describe him as the king of Abu, where Dhārāvarsa ruled from 1162 to 1227 A. D. in unbroken continuity. The bard relates to us an interesting incident,⁵ which resulted in a terrible fight between Jaitṣī and the Cāhamāna Prthvirāja III on one side and Bhīma II on the other.

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. LV, p. 41.

² Ibid.

³ Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 474.

⁴ Forbes Rāsmāṇa, Ed. by Rawlinson, Vol. I, p. 202.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 202 seq.

The story runs that Jaitai had a very beautiful daughter, Ichanikumāri, who was betrothed to Prthvirāja III, and that Bhīma II, hearing about her extreme beauty, determined to have her himself for wife. He sent an ambassador to the Paramāra chief, demanding the hand of his daughter, but Jaitai and his son Salakha refused to comply with this request, as the princess was already betrothed to the Cāhamāna prince. This infuriated Bhīma, and he ordered the invasion of Abu. Jaitai, finding his strength quite inadequate to check the progress of the mighty Caulukyās, solicited the Cāhamānas for assistance. The Cāhamānas took up his cause with great zeal, but, in the battle that ensued, the Paramāra chief and his son were forced to surrender Abu after which they fled to Marwar. Bhīma then advanced upon Ajmer, and having slain its king Someśvara, returned to Gujarat. But Prthvirāja took over the government of his deceased father and within a short time, invaded Gujarat with a strong force. He defeated the Caulukyās and avenged his father's death by killing Bhīma.

The above story probably contains some amount of historical truth, notwithstanding the fact that there are in it some gross inaccuracies. Bhīma II, who ruled from 1178 to 1239 A. D., was certainly not killed by Prthvirāja III. That this Cāhamāna king did invade Gujarat about this period, is borne out by a contemporary record. The *Partha-parākrama* relates that the Paramāra Dhārāvaraṣa, ruler of Abu, who was a feudatory of Bhīma II, repulsed a night-attack by Prthvirāja, the king of jāngala.¹

Jayatasīha's reign came to an end shortly after that event. He seems to have been succeeded by his son

¹ Vide ante, p. 310.

Salakha. The fall of the House of Ajmer, in 1193 A. D., left the Paramāras of Bhinmal in a state of helplessness. The Cāhamānas of Nadol took the earliest opportunity to fall upon them and deprived them of their territory. The Sundha hill inscription relates that the Cāhamāna Udayasīṃha ruled over Naḍḍūla, Jāvalipura, Maṇḍavyapura, Vāgbhaṭameru, Sūrācaṇḍa, Rāṭahrada, Keḍa, Rāmasainya, *Śrīmāla*, Ratnapura and Satyapura.¹ Three inscriptions of his reign, dated Sam. 1262, 1262, 1274 1305 (=1206, 1218 and 1249), were issued from *Śrīmāla*.² Thus we find that the two collateral branches of the Paramāras in Marwar were deprived, almost simultaneously, of their political power by the Cāhamānas of Nadol, at the end of the twelfth century A. D.

¹ E. I., Vol. IX, p. 73.

² Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, pp. 474-476.

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4a Bijapur inscription of Dhavala of Hastikunḍī, Sam. 1053.	E. I., Vol. X, p. 17.
PRATIHĀRA	
5 Gwalior inscription of Bhoja.	E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 112.
6 Partabgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla II, 946 A. D.	E. I., Vol. XIV, p. 176.
CĀLUKYA	
7 Nilgund inscription of Taila II, Ś 904.	E. I., Vol. IV, p. 204.
8 Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V, Ś 830.	I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 15.
9 Kulenur inscription of Jayasimha II, Ś 950.	E. I., Vol. XV, p. 329.
10 Miraj plates of Jayasimha II, Ś 946.	I. A., Vol. VIII, p. 11.

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NAMES	REFERENCE
11 Sudi inscription of Someśvara I, §981.	E. I., Vol. XV, p. 85.
12 Hottur inscription of Someśvara I, § 988.	E. I., Vol. XVI, p. 81.
13 Sudi inscription of Someśvara II, § 996.	E. I., Vol. XV, p. 96.
14 Balagami inscription of the time of Someśvara II, § 993.	Mysore Inscriptions, p. 164.
15 Gadag inscription of Vikramāditya VI.	E. I., Vol. XV, p. 348.
16 Shikar Talug inscription of Vikramāditya VI.	E. C., Vol. II, Sk. No. 124.
17 An inscription of Someśvara III's reign, §. 1051	E. C., Vol. VII, Sk. No. 100.
18 A Calukya inscription, about 1157 A. D.	Mysore inscriptions, p. 58.
19 A Calukya inscription, 1158 A. D.	Mysore inscriptions, 153.
20 A Calukya inscription, about 1165 A. D.	Mysore inscriptions, p. 61.

CAULUKYAS

21 An inscription of Jayasimha, 1134 A. D.	J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXV, p. 322.
22 Ujjain inscription of Jayasimha, 1138 A. D.	I. A., Vol. XLII, p. 258.
23 Dohad inscription of Jayasimha, 1139, 1145 A. D.	I. A., Vol. X, p. 159.
24 Vadnagar praśasti of Kumārapāla, 1151 A. D.	E. I., Vol. I, p. 293.
25 Udayapur inscription of Kumārapāla, 1163 A. D.	I. A., Vol. XVIII, p. 343.

	NAMES	REFERENCE
26	Somnath inscription of the reign of Kumārapāla, 1169 A. D.	Vienna Or. Jour. Vol. III, p. 1.
27	Udayapur inscription of Ajayapāla, 1172 A. D.	I. A., Vol. XVIII, p. 343.
28	Devapatan inscription of the reign of Bhīma II, 1216 A. D.	E. I., Vol. II, p. 437.
29	Grants of Anhilwar Caulukyas.	I. A., Vol. VI, pp. 200 ff.
30	Surat grant of the Lāṭa chief Kīrtirāja, Ś 930.	Vienn. Or. Journ. Vol. VII, p. 88.
31	A copper plate grant of the Lāṭa chief Trilocanapāla, Ś 972.	I. A., Vol. XII, p. 196.

VĀGHELĀS

32	Dabhoi inscription of Viśala Sam, 1311.	E. I., Vol. I, p. 20.
33	Viśala's inscription, 1260 A. D.	I. A., Vol. VI, p. 212.
34	Arjuna's inscription, 1271 A. D.	I. A., Vol. XI, p. 107.
35	Cintra praśasti of Śaraṅgadeva.	E. I., Vol. I, p. 271.
36	Arjuna's inscription.	I. A., Vol. XI, p. 104.

CANDELLAS

37	Inscriptions from Khajuraho.	E. I., Vol. I, pp. 121.
38	Inscription from Mahoba.	E. I., Vol. I, p. 217.
39	Mau inscription of Madanavarman.	E. I., Vol. II, p. 198.
40	Ajaigarh inscription.	E. I., Vol. I, p. 326

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NAMES	REFERENCE
KALACURI	
41 Bheraghat inscription of Alhana-devi, K. E., 907	E. I., Vol. II, p. 7.
42 Karnbel inscriprion of Jaysimha.	I. A., Vol. XVIII, p. 217.
43 Kalha plate of Sodhadeva, Sam. 1134.	E. I, Vol. VII, p. 85.
KACCHAPAGHÂTAS	
44 Dubkund inscription of Vikramasimha, Sam. 1145.	E. I, Vol. II, p. 237.
45 Sasbahu temple inscription of Mahipâla, Sam. 1150.	I. A., Vol. XV, p. 33.
HOYSALA	
46 Ereyanga's inscription, 1100 A. D.	E. C., Vol. V, Ak. No. 102a.
47 Shimoga Talug inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana, about 1112 A. D.	E. C., Vol. II, sh Np. 64.
48 Belur copper-plate of Viṣṇuvardhana, 1117 A. D.	E. C., Vol. V, p. 26, Hn. No. 53.
49 Narasimha I's inscription, 1159 A. D.	E. C., Vol. II, No. 349. (Sravana Belgola inscription)
50 Narasimha I's inscription, 1161 A. D.	E. C., Vol. V, AK. No. 117.
51 Narasimha I's inscription, 1164 A. D.	E. C., Vol. IV, p. 119, Ng. No. 30.

360 HISTORY OF THE PARAMĀRA DYNASTY

NAMES	REFERENCE
52 Narasimha I's inscription, about 1150 A. D.	E. C., Vol. IV, kp. No. 32.
53 Narasimha I's inscription, 1162 A. D.	E. C., Vol. IV, HS. No. 137.
54 Ballāla II's inscription, 1177 A. D.	E. C., Vol. V, AK. No. 62.
55 Ballāla II's inscription, 1192 A. D.	Mysore inscription, p. 104.
56 Ballāla II's inscription, 1196 A. D.	E. C., Vol. II, TT. No. 45
57 Ballāla II's inscription, 1207 A. D.	E. C., Vol. VI, KD. No. 127.
58 Ballā II's inscription 1209 A. D.	E. C., Vol. V, AK. No. 40.

YĀDAVA

59 Samgamne inscription of Bhil-lama, Ś 922.	E. I., Vol. II, p. 212.
60 Patna inscription of the reign of Singhana.	E. I., Vol. I, p. 338.
61 Bahal inscription of Singhana, 1222 A. D.	E. I., Vol. III, p. 113.
62 Bhillama's inscription, 1189 A. D.	E. I., Vol. XV, p. 34.
63 Kṛṣṇa's inscription, 1250 A. D.	E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 23.
64 Kṛṣṇa's inscription, 1252 A. D.	J. Bo. Br., Vol. XII, p. 34.
65 Thana plates of Rāmacandra, 1272 A. D.	E. I., Vol. XIII, p. 202.

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66 Bijolian inscription of Someś-vara, 1169 A. D.	J.A.S.B., Vol. LV, p. 41.
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NAMES	REFERENCE
67 An unpublished inscription.	Ajmer Museum.
68 Inscription of the reign of Hammira, Sam. 1845.	E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 45.
69 Sundha hill inscription of Cacigadeva, Sam. 1819.	E. I., Vol. IX, p. 70.

MISCELLANEOUS

70 Jhansi inscription of Sallakṣaṇa- siṃha.	E. I., Vol. I, p. 214.
71 Sravana-Belgola epitaph of Mārasimha II.	E. I., Vol. V, p. 151.
72 Belava copper-plate of Bhoja- varman	E. I., Vol. XII, p. 37.
73 Ingoda inscription of Vijaya- pāla, 1133 A. D.	I. A., Vol. VI, p. 55.
74 Madagihal inscription, Ś. 1093.	E. I., ol. XV, p. 348.
75 Chamba plate of Somavarma and Asatadeva.	I. A., Vol. XVII, p. 7.
76 An inscription from Udayapur.	J. A. S. B., Vol. IX, p. 549.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARAMĀRA DYNASTY

Serial No.	Place of Origin	Stone or Copper-Plate	V. E.	Date A. D.	The Paramāra Kings named	Royal	Private	Reference
THE PARAMĀRA'S OF MALWA.								
1	Harsola	C.	1005	949	Siyaka II	R.		E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 236.
2	Ahmedabad	C.	1026	969	Siyaka II	R.		E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 177.
3	Ujjain	C.	1031	974	Vakpati-Munja	R.		I. A., Vol. VI, p. 51.
4	Ujjain	C.	1036	979	Vakpati-Munja	R.		I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 160.
5	Banswara	C.	1076	1020	Bhoja	R.		E. I., Vol. XI, p. 182.
6	Betna	C.	1076	1020	Bhoja	R.		E. I., Vol. XVIII, p. 320.
7	Ujjain	C.	1078	1021	Bhoja	R.		I. A., Vol. VI, p. 53.
7a	Depalpur	C.	1079	1022	Bhoja	R.		I. H. Q., Vol. VIII, p. 305.
8	Sarasvati-image (in the British Museum)	S.	1091	1033	Bhoja	R.		Rāpam, 1924, p. 1.
9	Tilakwada	C.	1103	1047	Bhoja		P.	Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, p. 319.
10	Kalvan	C.	undated		Bhoja		P.	E. I., Vol. XIX, p. 69.
11	Mandhata	C.	1112	1055	Jayasimha	R.		E. I., Vol. III, p. 46.

12	Panbera	C.	1116	1059	Jayasinha	R.	E. I., Vol. XXI, p. 42.
13	Udayapur	S.	undated		Udayāditya	R.	E. I., Vol. I, p. 233.
14	Udayapur	S.	1137	1080	Udayāditya	R.	I. A., Vol. xx, p. 83.
15	Un	S.	undated		Udayāditya	R.	A. S. I., 1918-19, p. 17.
16	Dhar	S.	undated		Udayāditya	R.	J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 357.
17	Jhalrapatan	S.	1143	1086	Udayāditya	R.	J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 241.
17a	Jainad	S.	undated		Jagaddeva	P.	An. Rep. Nizam's Dominions, 1927-28, p. 23.
18	Udayapur	S.	1151	1094	Naravarman	R.	A. S. I., 1923-24, p. 135, (unpublished).
19	Nagpur	S.	1161	1104	Naravarman	R.	E. I., Vol. II, p. 180.
20	Madhukaraghar	S.	1164	1107	Naravarman	P.	Tr. R. A. S., Vol. I, p. 226.
21	unknown	C.	1159, 1167	1102, 1110	Naravarman	R.	Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1921, p. 54 (unpublished).
22	Bhilsa	S.	undated		Naravarman	R.	Ibid, 1914, p. 59, unpublished.
23	Dhar	S.	undated		Naravarman	R.	J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 351.
24	Ujjain	C.	1192	1135	Yaśovarman	R.	I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 348.
25	Ujjain	C.	undated		Jayavarman I	R.	I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 350.
26	Ujjain	C.	1200	1143	Laksmīvarman	R.	I. A., Vol. XIX, p. 351.
27	Piplianagar	C.	1235	1178	Harīscandra	R.	J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 735.
28	Bhopal	S.	1241	1184	Udayāditya	R.	J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 35.

Serial No.	Place of Origin	Stone or Copper-Plate	V. E.	Date	The Paramāra Kings named	Royal	Private	Reference.
29	Bhopal	S.	Śaka 1108	1186	Udayāditya	R.		J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 35.
30	Bhopal	C.	1256	1199	Udayavarman	R.		I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 252.
31	Piplianagar	C.	1267	1210	Arjunavarman	R.		J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 378.
32	unknown	C.	1270	1213	Arjunavarman	R.		J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 33.
33	unknown	C.	1272	1215	Arjunavarman	R.		J. Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 25.
34	Harsauda	S.	1275	1218	Devapāla		P.	I. A., Vol. XX, p. 310.
35	Mandhata	C.	1282	1225	Devapāla	R.		E. I., Vol. IX, p. 103.
36	Udayapur	S.	1286	1229	Devapāla			I. A., Vol. XX, p. 83.
37	Udayapur	S.	128(9?)	123(2?)	Devapāla			I. A., Vol. XX, p. 83.
38	Rahatgarh	S.	1312	1256	Jayavarman II		P.	I. A., Vol. XX, p. 84; A. S. I., (Cunningham) Vol. X, p. 31.
39	Modi	S.	1314	1257	Jayavarman II			Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey (W. C.), 1913, p. 56. (unpublished.)
40	Godarpura	C.	1317	1260	Jayavarman II R.			E. I., Vol. XI, p. 120.
41	Patharl		1326	1269	Jayasimha II			Kielhorn's Northern List, E. I., Vol. V, App. No. 232.
42	Udayapur	S.	1366	1309	Jayasimha II			I. A., Vol. XX, p. 84.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARAMĀRAS OF ABU

1	Vasantgadh	S.	1099	1042	Pârṇapāla	P.	E. I., Vol. IX, p. 11.
2	Bharund	S.	1102	1045	Pârṇapāla	P.	J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 78.
3	Ajari	S.	1202	1145	Yaśodhavalā	P.	I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 12.
4	Mount Abu	S.	1207	1150	Yaśodhavalā		E. I., Vol. IX, p. 149.
5	Kayadra	S.	1220	1163	Dhārāvarṣa	R.	I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.
6	Hathar	S.	1237	1180	Dhārāvarṣa	P.	I. A., Vol. XLIII, p. 193.
7	Ajari	S.	1240	1183	Dhārāvarṣa	P.	Gackwad's Oriental Series, No. IV, App. II.
8	Mangthala	S.	1245	1188	Dhārāvarṣa		A. S. L., 1906-7, p. 209, unpublished.
9	Mount Abu	S.	1265	1208	Dhārāvarṣa	P.	I. A., Vol. XI, p. 221.
10	Ajmer Museum	S.	1271	1214	Dhārāvarṣa	R.	I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.
11	Ajmer Museum	S.	1274	1217	Dhārāvarṣa	P.	I. A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.
12	Mount Abu	S.	1287	1230	Somasimha	P.	E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 208.
13	Mount Abu	S.	1287	1230	Somasimha	P.	E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 219.
14	Nana	S.	1290	1233	Somasimha	P.	A. S. L., 1907-1, p. 226 (unpublished).
15	Girwar	S.	1344	1286	Pratāpasimha	P.	I. A., Vol. XLV, p. 78.

Serial No.	Place of Origin	Stone or Copper-Plate	V. E.	Date	A. D.	The Paramāra Kings named	Royal	Private	Reference
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARAMĀRAS OF VĀGADA.									
1	Panhera	S.	1116	1059		Maṇḍalika	R.		E. I, Vol. XXI, p. 42.
2	Arthuna	S.	1136	1079		Cāmuṇḍarāja	R.		E. I, Vol XIV, p. 295.
3	Arthuna	S.	undated			Cāmuṇḍarāja		P	Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1915, p. 35. (unpublished).
4	Arthuna	S.	1157	1100		Cāmuṇḍarāja			Ibid. (unpublished).
5	Ajmer Museum	S.	undated			Cāmuṇḍarāja			unpublished.
6	Ajmer Museum	S.	1165	1108		Vijayarāja			Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, 1918, p. 2. (unpublished).
7	Ajmer Museum	S.	1166	1109		Vijayarāja			A. S. I, 1908-9, p 118, (unpublished).
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE JALOR BRANCH.									
1	Jalor	S.	1174	1117		Viśala		P.	I. A., Vol. LXII, p. 41.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BHINMAL BRANCH.

1	Bhinmal	S.	1059	1002	Devarāja	R.	
2	Bhinmal	S.	1117	1060	Kṛṣṇarāja	P.	unpublished. Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 472.
3	Bhinmal	S.	1123	1066	Kṛṣṇarāja	P.	Ibid., p. 474.
4	Kiradu	S.	1218	1161	Someśvara		unpublished.
5	Bhinmal	S.	1239	1182	Jayatasīṃha		Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 474.

APPENDIX.

I

Two inscriptions of the imperial Paramāra dynasty have of late been brought to light. One belongs to Bhoja and the other to Jagaddeva. They are as follows :

A. DEPALPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BHOJA,

DATED S. 1079¹

The inscription was found in the possession of a person residing in Depalpur, 24 miles north-west of Indore. It is dated Sam. 1079, 14th day of the Caitra=March, 1022 A. D. It records that Bhoja, from his residence at Dhārā, granted some lands in (the village of) Kirikaikā, belonging to the western pathaka of Ujjain², to a Brahman Vacchala, who hailed from Mānyakbēṭa.

The village, referred to above, is to be identified with the modern village of Karkī, in the Depalpur Pargana, on the Chambal, about six miles from the town of Depalpur, and forty miles south-west of Ujjain.

2. THE JAINAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAGADDEVA³.

The stone slab containing the inscription is lying in the court-yard of a temple in the village of Jainad, six miles from Edalabad in the Nizam's Dominions. This is a record of the reign of the king Jagaddeva. It registers that Padmāvatī, the wife of Lolārka, a chief under the king Jagaddeva, founded a temple of Nimvāditya in the *agrahāra*. Lolārka was the son of Guṇarāja and the grand-son of Mahendu. They belong to the Dāhima family. It is stated that Jagaddeva's father was Udayāditya, and his paternal uncle (pitṛvya) was Bhoja. Jagaddeva is

1. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, 1932, p. 305.

2. Ujjayini-pas'cima-pathakāntapāṭi.

3. Annual Report of the Arch. Dep., H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, 1927-28, p. 23

said to have conquered Andhra and defeated the king of Cakradurga. He entered the city of Dorasamudra, and struck terror into the heart of the king of Malahara.

The verse 10 reports that "even now the flood-tide of tears of the wives of the Gurjara heroes manifests day and night in the cave of the Arbuda mountain the twang of the bow of Jagaddeva, as if it were the recitation of prayers in the form of the stories of the valour of Jayasimha." It gives us to understand that Jagaddeva undertook an expedition against Gujarat long time before the inscription was composed. It further implies that he fought the battle on behalf of one Jayasimha. This Jayasimha is to be identified with the king of the same name who succeeded to the throne of Bhoja. It has been discussed in chapter V that Jayasimha was accompanied by his cousin (*tambi*) during his expedition against Andhra. This cousin may very reasonably be identified with Jagaddeva.

Jainad inscription is the only known record of the reign of Jagaddeva. It proves that the southern boundary of the Paramāra kingdom once extended upto the Edalabad District of the Nizam's Dominions.

II

It has been endeavoured to explain (p. 9.) why the Paramāras being members of the well known Rāṣṭrakūṭa family did not designate themselves as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In this connection I draw the attention to the fact that the Gāhaḍavālas being Rāṣṭrakūṭas never called themselves as such (cf. Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes. Vol. III, pp. 259—266).

III

It has been suggested that Raḍḍapāḍi, the chief of which was an adversary of Śīyaka II, may be a wrong contraction of Rāṣṭrakūṭa. But it is better to take that as identical with Rodapādi, a province, which was situated in the neighbourhood of the Dahalamāṇḍala and Malava (Cunningham, A. S. R., Vol. IX, p. 104.)

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